THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XLII

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EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

This part, in which the serial numbers enter the three thousands, consists largely of documentary texts chosen for the interest of their individual content. Some illuminate the history and administration of Roman Egypt. Others, in dated literary hands, have a palaeographic value (**3030, 3034, 3051, 3076**). Others again go beyond the Egyptian context, and contribute to the study of Roman law (**3016**), of the Roman Empire (**3019–3023**), and of the Early Church (**3035, 3055, 3057**).

Mr P. J. Parsons, who is responsible for this part, wishes to record his warmest gratitude for the many corrections and improvements (often not specifically acknowledged) which he owes to the other general editors and to Prof. H. Lloyd-Jones, Dr. M. L. West, and Prof. H. C. Youtie.

The compositors and readers of the Oxford University Press have exercised their customary skill and patience in the production of the volume. The index is the work of Dr. M. W. Haslam.

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J. R. REA
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General Editors of the
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXVI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion, the signs ` ´ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to the separate series of Ashmolean boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS
'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK'
AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of a papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI
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P. Ant. II 88. 3. For τοῦ Κοπτείτου κα[ὶ τῆ]ς μητρός read τοῦ Κουccείτου κά[τω. τῆ]c μητρὸc κτλ. (See J. Bingen, *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* 231–4.)

P. Ant. II 99. 14. For]. πρότερον read]νηροτερον, e.g. πο]νηρότερον. (E. G. Turner.)

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2999. Hesiod, 'Ηοῖαι or Μεγάλαι 'Ηοῖαι

A. 16 6E

2·2 × 11·6 cm.

Plate I

Second/third century

A narrow strip, with the first few letters of twelve consecutive lines. The hand is a small and neatly executed example of the Severe Style. On the back, traces of cursive.

Line 12, if the articulation ἤ’ οἵη(c) is accepted, points clearly to the Hesiodic 'Ηοῖαι or Μεγάλαι 'Ηοῖαι; and the general content confirms this attribution.

3–11 belong together; the beginning of the section is marked by a forked paragraphus. The matter parallels fr. 251 MW: sons of Butes (8) marry daughters of Hyllus (10) in the house of Ceyx (3? 5?).

12 should begin a new section. But it is followed (not preceded) by a forked paragraphus, and by a blank space of c. 5·5 cm. before the foot (which may or may not be the original lower edge). The space would be large for a normal margin. The most obvious explanation is, that we have the end of a roll and that 12 is a *reclamans*. Against this it must be said that *reclamantes* are normally marked off; and in any case there is no certain instance later than the first century A.D. (See S. West, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 314 f.) But there is a parallel in the Xenophon, **698**: this too is later (third century) and here too the coronis follows the linking words. The scribes of both the Hesiod and the Xenophon may have misunderstood an antique exemplar.

Otherwise we should have to assume that the paragraphus under line 12 is misplaced; or that the single line constitutes a self-contained episode.

The fragment has some structural interest. The paragraphus below line 2 should begin a new section; but no part of ἤ’ οἵη can be read in line 3; therefore it begins a new sub-section, as e.g. fr. 25. 34, not a completely new family. But to what genealogy does it belong? Fr. 251, from the Μεγάλαι 'Ηοῖαι, narrates the same marriage in an account of the family of Hyllus. If the same subject was treated in **2999**, it will have been from some other angle: the Butidae, perhaps, or Ceyx.

If our fragment is the end of a roll, and line 12 was a *reclamans*, we could infer that line 11 ended a book. It is tempting to identify 12 with fr. 73. 1, which is restored *exempli gratia* as ἤ’ οἵη Cχοινῆος ἀγακλε]ιτοῖο ἄνακτος; and in that case the new book began with the episode of Atalanta. Dr. M. L. West, to whom I am much indebted, remarks that fr. 73. 1 is the first line of a column, as one might expect the first line of a book to be; and suggests that the division is between books I (ending with **2999** 11) and II (beginning with Atalanta). But of course the identification and explanation of line 12 is by no means certain.

The hand is not, so far as I can tell, the same as in any of the manuscripts published in POxy. xxviii.

→   .[
       .[
       ⤛.[
       κη[
       ιπ.[
5   .η.[
       ....[
       του[.]θ̣[
       βουτ̣[
       τοικο.[
10   υλλιδ.[
       τωνγ.[
       ηοιηϲχ[
       ⤛——

1 A thick upright with a cross-bar at middle height projecting to the left; more ink above to right
2 A curved back in two movements, running into the paragraphus, with cross-bar at middle height: ε
or θ?   3 Of η, the first upright and beginning of cross-bar   4 .[: foot of upright, e.g. π   5 Be-
fore η: a point of ink at line level, followed by a low curve: poss. κ (but more curved than in 3 and 9)
.[: a high point of ink, as tip of e.g. τ, υ   6 Horizontal, as of τ; two verticals, perhaps with trace
of ink between them (η?); foot of vertical, short gap, another vertical perhaps crossed at foot by de-
scending diagonal (ν?); top left arc of circle at middle height (ο? poss. φ?)   7 Of θ the upper
loop and ends of the cross-bar   8 Of τ the left tip and the foot   9 .[: a long descender (τ,
υ; ρ? φ?); possibly more ink at upper left   10 .[: low ink, as of left foot of λ   11 .[: lower
left of square (ε? ω? too sharp for ο)   12 Of χ, the left half only (junction too low for λ)

2 The traces at the beginning of this line are confused. But the strong oblique which descends
well below line level looks unsuited to any letter. I have taken it as part of a forked paragraphus (parts
of the horizontal show as well), though it extends less far to the left than the (final) paragraphus under
line 12.
4 ιπ.[: Butes had a daughter Hippodameia (Diod. 4. 70. 3); Ceyx had a son Hippasus (Apd.
2. 7. 7).
8 βουτ̣[: Butes as son of Poseidon, Hesiod fr. 223; Βουτίδαι fr. 251(a) 2.
9 τοικο.[: τοὶ κού[ραϲ West.
10 υλλιδ.[: Ὑλλίδα or Ὑλλίδαϲ seem the only real possibilities, given the trace. Two daughters of
Hyllus marry two sons of Butes (fr. 251). The patronymic occurs (as the name of a nymph) in Ibycus
fr. 1. 41 P.: see Barron, *BICS* 16 (1969) 130.
11 τῶν γε[ν- West.
12 ηοιηϲχ[: the articulation ἠ’ οἴη ϲχ[is the most likely, and in turn recommends identification
with fr. 73. 1. ἠ’ οἴηϲ χ[cannot be excluded, though the genitive of the formula is not so far attested
in the fragments.

3000. Eratosthenes, *Hermes*

Plate II

Scanty remains from the last two columns of a poem which the end-title shows to be the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes. The intercolumnium is occupied by cursive scholia to col. i, mostly on text now lost; if the last line of text aligned with the last line of scholia, the column will have had *c.* 30 lines originally. The back is blank.

The main text is written in an inept bilinear hand, decorated with occasional emphatic left-pointing serifs; characteristic letters are α with rising cross-bar, bulky ε, κ divided, pointed μ, wide υ, ω with a left-sloping centre bar. This type should belong to the later first century B.C. or the earlier first century A.D.: see the examples in Roberts, *GLH* pls. 9–10. Of the annotators, one wrote capitals with a rather thick pen (schol. 11, 19); the most prolific used a small, neat half-cursive; a few notes, in the same general style but more boldly written, are perhaps by yet another hand (schol. 5, 9, ? 12).

The new fragment adds a new fact, which has some interest despite palaeographic difficulties attaching to it: the poem had about 1,600 lines.[1] For the rest, we now have the last two half-lines of the poem, about 'tongue' and 'writings'; and in col. i references to Paphus, to a temple which escapes rain, to bare feet, and to a kneading-trough. None of this coheres with the book-fragments, which describe the suckling of the young god, and his thieving, and a vision of the heavenly spheres (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, pp. 58 ff.). But the range of such a poem is unpredictable. The *Hermes* of Philetas extended to Polymela (*Coll. Alex.*, p. 91 fr. 5); it is at least possible that **3000** col. i concerned itself with Cinyras (schol. 17 note).

I am greatly indebted to Dr. M. L. West for his help.

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[1] Correct the statement in A. S. Hollis's edition of Ovid, *Met.* viii (Oxford, 1970), p. xii n. 1.

col. i   col. ii

→   ]. | ..ωccαπελειδιερη[1

]αντεc   1 ηνηcοc⟦παφοc⟧   ⁻ϑ⁻γραπτῦcανθρωπω.[

].._ιουνης   2 κυπροcημη

]νικαλον   3 τροπολιcπαφοc

5   ]ατεπολλα   19 ΓΡΑΠΤΥΕCΑΝΘ

]cαντεc

]ῠ́ccωι· [   ]⁴.[].._ω

]ιακυ....

]..[   ]

10   ]..ωc

         ]

         ]

]⁵επ... οιδεᾱλωμεν̄η οιονπλανωμε.[

]⁶.υυ...ηcιντοιερον

]⁷αυτ·ονμηυομενον

]⁸οπηνικαεανβρεχηοξευc

]⁹νη̄λ′α.   νήλιποc   ε̄ρμη̄c [

]¹⁰ υποδε...   [ ]

]   ε̄ρατοcθενο[

11]ΔΩ.   ΟΡ.[   ]

]c   12 []ωμ...   ⁻ϑ⁻   αριθ̇χ....[5

         ]

         ]

         ]

]¹³πλαθανοcαγγοcτι

]¹⁴παραπληcιονcκαφαβακι

]   ¹⁵ουαιμαξαιφυρωντϛ

16]...

]¹⁷ανθεμ̇ ἀ α.θ...[ ]   [ ]

18]........[ ]   [ ]

Text i 1].: oblique back as of α   3]..: upper left arc of circle; foot of long descender, point level with tops of letters   7 Of]υ only the right-hand prong   8 κυ....: first, high horizontal, tips of two verticals below; last, upper arc of circle?   9]..[: high point of ink, then probably acute accent   10].: serifed upright, trace of high horizontal to right

ii 1 ..: foot at line-level; foot of descender; oblique foot as of right side of λ   2 .[: high and low points of ink, as from an upright

Scholia 4 .[: perh. top curve as of ε etc.   ]..ω: foot of upright, oblique foot joining upright (υ ?); upright (ι?)   5 επ...: upright or left side of curved letter; remains of circular letter (θ ο ω ?); trace of horizontal; high oblique (abbreviation stroke?)   6].: top arc of curved letter   υ.: upright   .η: upright and cross-bar as of τ   9 α.: top of oblique sloping down from left to right; top of upright   10 δε...: first, long high horizontal; last, left-hand arc of circle   11 ορ.[: upright, junction at top as of υ   12 .[ ]: perhaps an oblique back (α ?) with υ written above it   μ...: left corner as of α, δ; foot of descender; angular back (α? c?)   17 ἀ: suprascript letter has oblique descending to join vertical (υ ?)   α.: two uprights joined by flattish top

1   ].

       ]αντες   ¹ ἡ νῆϲοϲ [[Πάφοϲ]]

       ] ἐριούνηϲ   ² Κύπροϲ, ἡ μη-

       ]υι καλόν   ³ τρόπολιϲ Πάφοϲ

5   ]ατε πολλά

       ]ϲαντες

       ]ύϲϲωι· [ ]⁴.[].. ῳ

       ]ρ̣ιακυπ...

       ]..[   ]

10   ].ωϲ

           ]

           ]

           ]⁵ἐπ.θ(ετικῶϲ) οἱ δὲ ἀλωμένη οἷον πλανωμέν[η

           ]⁶ϲ.υ.ν.ί.ϲ.τ.ηϲιν τὸ ἱερὸν

           ]⁷α.ὐ.τ.ὸν μὴ ὑόμενον

           ]⁸ὁπηνίκα ἐὰν ̓βρέχῃ ὁ Ζεύϲ

           ]⁹νηλ( ) ἀν-   νήλιποϲ   Ἑρμῆϲ

           ]¹⁰υπόδε.τ.ο.ϲ   [ ]

           ]   Ἐρατοϲθένο[υϲ

       ¹¹]ΔΩ. ΟΡ.[.......]

           ]ϲ ¹².[]ωμ...   ἀριθμ(ὸϲ) Χ....[5

           ]

           ]

           ]

           ]¹³πλάθανοϲ ἄγγοϲ τι

           ]¹⁴παραπλήϲιον ϲκαφάβακι

           ] ¹⁵οὗ αἱ μᾶζαι φυρῶνται

       ¹⁶]...

       ]¹⁷ανθεμ( ) ἁ α.θ...[ ]

       ¹⁸].......[ ]

Right column top:

γλῶϲϲα πέλει διερη[1

γραπτῦϲ ἀνθρώπω.[

¹⁹ ΓΡΑΠΤΥΕϹ ΑΝΘ(ΡΩΠ)

Text Col. i 3] ἐριούνηϲ: Homer has ἐριούνηϲ | Ἑρμείαϲ twice (*Il.* 20. 34, *Od.* 8. 322). No other Alexandrian poet uses the word, or indeed the commoner ἐριούνιοϲ.

4]υι καλόν, ἐ]νι καλόν: for ἔνι or ἐνί, e.g. *Il.* 20. 248 πολέεϲ δ' ἔνι μῦθοι, *Od.* 7. 96 ἔνθ' ἐνὶ πέπλοι, *Od.* 5. 57 τῷ ἔνι νύμφη | ναῖεν.

5]ατε,] ἄτε,]α τε (e.g. οἷ]ά τε πολλά Lloyd-Jones).

7]ύϲϲωι: the marginal note (gloss?)] .[]ριῳ may or may not refer to this word; in any case it is doubtfully read (perhaps]ρη.).

8] γιακυπ . . . : Κύπρις might be acceptable as a reading. Leonidas, *AP* 6. 293. 1 πότνια Κύπρι.
10]γως or]τως.

Text Col. ii 1 γλῶcca: if λ is accepted (and the only palaeographic alternatives are a or (just possibly) κ or ν), γλῶcca seems inevitable. Then δ' ιερη[, δι' ερη[, διερη[. If διερή was intended, the sense is still ambiguous: active (*Od.* 9. 43 διερῷ ποδί); mortal (so perhaps Ibycus fr. 1. 26 after *Od.* 6. 201, see *BICS*, 1969, p. 128); wet (Hes. *Op.* 460, Call. fr. 239). Perhaps the poet contrasts oral tradition with the written record (γραπτῦc).

2 γραπτῦc: *Od.* 24. 229 γραπτῦc ἀλεείνων (schol. τὰc καταξύceιc), 'scratches'; Ap. Rhod. 4. 279 f. οἳ δή τοι γραπτῦc πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύονται, | κύρβιαc οἷc ἔνι πᾶcαι ὁδοί κτλ., 'records'. In both passages the form is accusative, and presumably Eratosthenes followed precedent (Schwyzer i 564 quotes contracted nominatives only from Xenophon and Antiphanes). The annotator's γραπτύεc (schol. 19) must then be a variant rather than a gloss.

ΣBT *Iliad* 19. 233 . . . ὀτρυντύν . . . ἔcτι δὲ ἡ λέξιc Ἀντιμάχειοc. χαίρει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοcθένηc ταῖc τοιαύταιc ἐκφοραῖc, ὡc τὸ "πολλὴ ἀντιμαχητύc" (Erat. fr. 31 P.; cf. fr. 33).

ἀνθρώπω .[: the trace perhaps suits ἀνθρώπων better than -πωι.

5 ἀριθμ( ) X . . . .[: the numeral might in theory be alphabetic or acrophonic, see the parallels (up to 1928) set out by Ohly, *Stichometr. Untersuch.* 83–5 (add Menander, *Sicyon.* 426); but the balance of the evidence suggests that a formal copy, especially at this early date, would have an acrophonic total. In that case X = 1,000.

The next trace is an upright, cross-bar joining at the top right: presumably Γ or a compound. Immediately to the right is low ink, apparently the foot of a long descender; then a point at line-level. I suggest that these traces together belong to ⌐Ρ, '500': this eccentric form, with the middle leg prolonged as if for *sampi*, appears in the end-title of PLitLond. 22, *Iliad* xiv, of much the same date as 3000.

The remaining figures are represented by a high point of ink; a short rubbed space; a low horizontal; rubbed space for one or two letters, with part of a low horizontal at the end; then the break in the papyrus. If this line centred approximately with the one above, there may have been one more letter beyond the break. If it followed pattern in having ornamental underlining at start and finish (but not in-between), the second low horizontal can be identified as ornament; but the first must be the base of a letter, i.e. of the numeral Δ or ΓΔ.

On these suppositions, the complete total will have been X⌐Ρ . . [2 *or* 3]: minimum perhaps X⌐ΡΔΔ[ΔΔ], 1,540; maximum X⌐ΡΗΓΔ[ΔΔ], 1,670.

Scholia 1–3 This is normal doctrine; Paphus as the name of the island is late (*Itin. Anton. Marit.* pp. 526 and 478 Wesseling *Cyprus sive Paphus*; so Servius on *Georg.* 2. 64). In 2688 6 μητροπολείτ[ου will mean 'founder of the capital, Paphus' (Lloyd-Jones).

5 επιθ': the reading (rather than επω") seems guaranteed by a trace from the cross-bar of θ. οἱ δὲ κτλ. follows after a space, and perhaps in a different hand. It is therefore not certain that the two comments have the same reference.

ἐπιθ' might be resolved ἐπιθ(ετικῶc); the meaning (to judge from the *Iliad* Scholia) would be 'used as an adjective (not as an appellative or a proper name)', e.g. Σ *Il.* 3. 445a Erbse νήcῳ δ' ἐν κραναῇ . . . ἄδηλον, πότερον ὄνομα κύριόν ἐcτιν . . . ἢ ἐπιθετικῶc τὴν τραχεῖαν; *Il.* 4. 235a² ψευδέccι· Ἀρίcταρχοc ἐπιθετικῶc ὡc cαφέcι. Ἑρμαπίαc προcηγορικὸν ὡc βέλεcιν.

οἱ δὲ ἀλωμένη, οἷον πλανωμέν[η looks like a gloss on some congener of ἀλᾶcθαι. I should guess at ἀλῆτιc, which certainly has ambiguities enough to deserve explanation: (*a*) 'vagabond', *Iliad* 12. 433 v.l. γυνὴ χερνῆτιc ἀλῆτιc; Page, *GLP* 122. 17 ἀκόμιcτο[c ἀ]λῆτιc; Dion. Perieg. 490 v.l. ἀλήτιδοc (ἀλήμονοc cett.) Αἰητίνηc; Heliod. 7. 7 τινὰ τῶν ἀγειρουcῶν καὶ ἀληθῶc ἀλῆτιν; (*b*) 'song sung at the festival of Erigone called *Aiorai*' (Athen. 618 e, Pollux 4. 55) or the festival itself (Hesych. s.v.); (*c*) Et. Magn. 62. 5 Ἀλῆτιc· τινὲc τὴν Ἠριγόνην τὴν Ἰκαρίου θυγατέρα, ὅτι πανταχοῦ ζητοῦcα τὸν πατέρα ἠλᾶτο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγίcθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήcτραc φαcίν. οἱ δὲ τὴν Μαλεώτου τοῦ Τυρρηνίου θυγατέρα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Μήδειαν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν παίδων πρὸc Αἰγέα κατέφυγεν ἀλητεύcαcα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Περcεφόνην διότι τοὺc πυροὺc ἀλοῦντεc πέμματά τινα προcέφερον αὐτῇ· οὕτω Μεθόδιοc; cf. Hesych. s.v. Αἰώρα.

If the guess is right, and if both comments have the same reference, the general outline might be: 'epithet (*c*) rather than noun (*b*); others interpret simply as "wandering" (*a*)'.

6–8 The altar or temple of Aphrodite at Paphus was never rained on: Varro *ap.* Servius *Aen.* 1. 415, Pliny, *NH* 2. 210, Tac. *Hist.* 2. 3 (a different point, apparently, in **2688** 5). The same thing is said of other places, e.g. the temple of Athena at Nea (Pliny l.c.), the statue of Artemis Kindyas at Iasus (Polyb. 16. 12).

Given a reference to Paphus above, and a possible reference to Adonis below, the Paphian temple might be in point. Its founder is variously reported (Roscher s.v. Paphia 1562 f.): Agapenor, Aerias, Cinyras. Cinyras, according to Apd. 3. 14. 3, was great-great-great-great-grandson of Hermes, and father of Adonis.

6–7 Perhaps 'He (the poet) represents the temple as not being rained on . . .'; for cυνίϲτηϲι cf. e.g. ΣA *Iliad* 15. 86 and 679. αὐτὸν looks likely as a reading; a certainly begins a word (there is blank papyrus before it; and it aligns with line 8). But I can see no obvious meaning for it unless it is intended as neuter and equivalent to αὐτόματον.

9 On νήλιποϲ 'barefoot' see Gow on Theoc. 4. 56; the same gloss in Hesychius. If νήλιποϲ is a variant, I do not know how νηλ´ is to be expanded.

11 After]δω a curving stroke like the beginning of μ; then apparently blank until oρ.[(perhaps oργ[).

12 .[ ]: perhaps ἀ̆ for ἀν(τὶ τοῦ).

13–15 For similar definitions, see Gow on Theoc. 15. 115. In ϲκαφάβακι the beta is oddly shaped, perhaps corrected; the other letters are certain. The word is not attested elsewhere; if right, it must be a compound of ϲκάφοϲ/-η and ἄβαξ.

17 ανθεμ(): several different resolutions are possible; the only clue is the possible mention of flowers in the legible part of the note. Given πλάθανοϲ in 13, it is tempting to write ἄνθεμ(α): Hesychius ἄνθεμα· ἀνάθεμα· καὶ μᾶζά τιϲ (cf. Pollux 6. 76). The whole context would then come close to Theoc. 15. 115 f. εἴδατά θ' ὅϲϲα γυναῖκεϲ ἐπὶ πλαθάνω πονέονται, | ἄνθεα μίϲγοιϲαι λευκῷ παντοῖα μαλεύρῳ; Theocritus no doubt intends to etymologize ἄνθεμα, from ἄνθοϲ rather than ἀνατίθημι. It looks as if Eratosthenes had the older writer in mind.

The cakes in Theocritus are offerings to Adonis. One might speculate: Adonis, the Paphian temple of Aphrodite (6), Paphus (1) itself, might all belong to the story of Hermes' descendant Cinyras, or of Adonis (whom Aphrodite hid in a chest, Apd. 3. 14. 4: cf. Eratosth. fr. 4 P.). But only the third of these pointers is more than speculation in itself.

ἀ̇: perhaps a nu above the alpha, i.e. ἀν(τὶ τοῦ). Then ανθω§[would be tempting, though the flat top suggests π rather than ν, and ω ends with anomalous down-stroke.

3001. HOMERIC VERSES

Plate III

27 3B.44/D (1–2) b   Fr. 1: 7·5 × 14 cm.   Second century

One piece, and three small fragments, from an illustrated text. Frr. 2 and 3, which have traces of paint at the foot, might belong to the upper part of fr. 1; but I have not succeeded in joining them. Fr. 4 has remains in red and black, but no writing. In all the back is blank.

The hand is an informal example of a familiar type (e.g. **1619, 2159–2164, 2328, 2520**), decorated with horizontal and oblique half-serifs. I should assign it to the second century.

The legible content of fr. 1 is in hexameters. The subject is Homeric: the scene, *Iliad* 23. 65 ff., in which the ghost of Patroclus appears to Achilles. Homer's Patroclus dwells mainly on his funeral; but adds a short prophecy of Achilles' death (23. 80 f.). This is the theme developed by our writer: Achilles tries to set out; each time the ghost turns him back, then utters a speech of warning (10 ff.). The language too is Homeric: indeed, half the lines are taken verbatim from different contexts in *Iliad* 16–24. The composer shows no obvious parodic intention; his work is apparently a straight-faced half-cento. This assumes that the episode had a heroic frame: the funeral, as in Homer, or (say) the battle at the Scaean gate in which Achilles met his death.[1] But other speculations are possible, see fr. 3. 3 note.

The illustration stands close in technique to the other examples of the same period: **2331**, PSI 1368, the Paris Romance (Pack² 2641; Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* pl. 51). The heavy pen outlines are sometimes further thickened with dark grey wash; colour (red, black, and pink) is added in patches. There is no background, and no frame or border: the figure simply poses in mid column.

The figure faces to the reader's right. He leans forward, right arm (red) extended; the right leg (red) is straight, the left leg (black) is bent; the face is red, eye and nose indicated in black. He wears a bowler-shaped hat or helmet; below this, a tunic belted at the waist and partly blacked in below (alternatively, a mail kilt); cross-hatching on the legs perhaps indicates high boots or greaves; a red patch by the shoulders will be a floating cloak. The left hand grasps a spear (partly hidden behind the body) and a small red shield.

The illustration may (but need not) attach to the lines which follow. If so, the figure will be Achilles, arm outstretched towards a ghost now lost on the right. A promising scene for illustration, though not represented elsewhere (R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic–Byzantine Miniatures* 85 ff.).

[1] This episode was treated in the *Aethiopis* (Proclus, *Chrest.* p. 106 Allen). But I cannot believe that **3001** comes from early epic.

Someone thought it worth while to copy and illustrate this odd confection. Dr. M. L. West suggests a possible connection with the *Homeristai*. To judge from the literary sources, these groups wore armour, and recited and enacted Homeric scenes (Petronius 59; Ach. Tat. 3. 20. 4; Artemidorus 4. 2, p. 245. 19 Pack); the documents show that they performed regularly in Egypt (POslo iii 189. 12 n.).

Fr. 1

.   .   .   .

→   ].̣.[

     ]...[....].ιτ.[

illustration

].̣..επυ.[].̣.[.].̣..ε̣..ρο̣κ̣[

]χη̣εφειϲτηκειγορωϲατε[

5   ].λει.ην....υϲακατατ[

]ϲακ̣ιδορμηϲειε.υ.α̣.[

]ϲελθειν̣θυ̣[].ων..αρου.[

]...ϲακι[]μ̣ιν̣..[]παρ.ι.[

].ατρο̣[]κλο.και.[]...ρος...[

10]μνηϲαιπατροϲϲ.[.]οθεο.[

].ηδεθετινχη[.]ηνλι̣ψηϲ[

].ριν̣τικακο.παθε̣ε̣ιν̣ρ.[

]μητ[]ϲαπαθαν̣ων.ρι̣αμ[

]μ̣...ημαλ[.].[.]ϲγεφιλει[

Fr. 1.   1 o or ω; then sloping back as of λ   2]...[: tail as of λ; short blank: curve joining low horizontal and upright, ω?   ].: η or π   3]...: shallow curve, joining top of vertical: high point above, traces at line-level (δ, λ ?)   ..[: oblique top and foot as of λ; long high horizontal (τ?)   ]...: end of low curve, horizontal above (ε, ϲ ?); then probably η   5].: η or π εἰ.: δ or λ   v....: top arc of oval letter (or upper curve as of λ); point at line-level; upright; lower part of circular letter?   6 .v: thick (corrected?) horizontal, down-stroke to left   .[: left curve as of o   7].: ε or θ   v..: initial curve as of μ; curved terminal as of μ; foot of upright; right end of high horizontal   8]...: serifed foot of descender: bottom arc as of ε θ o ϲ ω: lower curve of o or ϲ   v.: trace of high horizontal, foot of upright (π ?)   ρ.: lower arc of ε θ o ϲ   .[: ε or θ   9].: η or π   o.: o or ϲ   ]...: ε or θ; high point of ink; part of high horizontal or curve   10 .[: lower arc of ε θ o ϲ ω, perhaps trace of cross-bar   .[: upright   11].: loop and curving tail as of μ   12].: curving foot   o.: tops of two uprights   13 v.: upright   14]μ..: upright, joined from right at top and middle; η or π   ].[: top and vertical as of τ

Fr. 1

..].ιδεπυλ.[].. [.].η.ε..ροκ[

ψυ]χὴ ἐφε{ι}cτήκει γοόωcά τε [μυρομένη τε   *Iliad* 23. 106

5   Π]ηλείδην...ουcα κατατ[

ὅc]cάκι δ' ὁρμήcειε πυλάω[ν   22. 194

..]cελθειν θυ[ρ]έων μ.αρου.[

τοccάκι μιν προπάροιθ[εν ἀποcτρέψαcκε παραφθὰc   22. 197

Πάτροκλοc και.[.]...ροc...[

10 "μνῆcαι πατρὸc cε[ῖ]ο, θεοῖ[c ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ   24. 486

μηδὲ Θέτιν χή[ρ]ην λ⟨ε⟩ίψῃc [

πρίν τι κακὸν παθέειν· ῥε[χθὲν δέ τε νήπιοc ἔγνω   17. 32, 20. 198

μή τιc ἀπ' ἀθαν⟨άτ⟩ων .ριαμ[cf. 16. 93

ἐμβήῃ· μάλ[α] τ[ού]c γε φιλεῖ [ἑκάεργοc Ἀπόλλων   16. 94

Fr. 1. 3 ..].ιδεπυλ: μ looks the least unlikely interpretation of the first trace, but the join is different in 8 μιν. πυλ might perhaps be πλε or πλο (though the expected junction in λ does not show). At the end κ[is likely (rather than υ.[); πατροκ[cannot be read.

5 ...ουcα: the articulation assumes another participle. Of the letters, ο is dubious: the arc seems to have ink inside (as of θ), but also a tiny closed loop at the lower right corner. I cannot interpret all the ink as belonging to any one letter; perhaps therefore ο as a correction of some other letter (υ?). Before this, two possibilities: (a) the high curved trace might combine with the foot to give λ (or possibly δ or χ); but I don't see how to proceed. (b) The curve may be a letter on its own. Just possibly Π]ηλείδην ἔρχουcα; not Π]ηλείδη νεύουcα.

6 and 8 take over *Iliad* 22. 194 and 197; the composer replaces the intervening Homeric lines with one of his own; and must have replaced Δαρδανιάων in 6.

7 ..]cελθειν: εἰ]cελθ. hardly suits the context.

μ.αρου: perhaps μεγάρου, but the letters would be oddly small and crowded. θύραc μεγάρων *Od.* 19. 30 etc.; θυρέων *Od.* 21. 47 and 191.

.[: e.g. π[αρὰ λάινον οὐδὸν (*Od.* 20. 258).

9 We expect a formula to introduce the speech which follows. The final traces allow μῦθ[ον; but πρόc cannot be read (more like .εροc).

11 χή[ρ]ην has to mean 'bereaved of a son': an ill-considered borrowing from Andromache's lament for Hector (*Il.* 22. 483 f.).

13 f. Adapted from *Iliad* 16. 93 f. μή τιc ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεῶν αἰειγενετάων ἐμβήῃ· μάλα κτλ. Πριαμ[suggests itself; but the right side of π ought to be visible.

Fr. 2   Fr. 3

→   ]λωα...[→   ].....λλο.[

      ].φη[].λλα[   ]θε...καταν[

      ]..θανο[   ]cε.κλεια.α.[

      ]..ονοφ.[   ].ιcc..ερ[

5   ]...κελη.[5   ]...[..]....[

      ].ντεθε.[   ].ϛ..[...]...[

      ]......[   ].λιc[

      ].....[*illustration*

      ].ο..[.].ϵ.[

10   ].[.].ν.[

      ]...[

      ]κε[

illustration
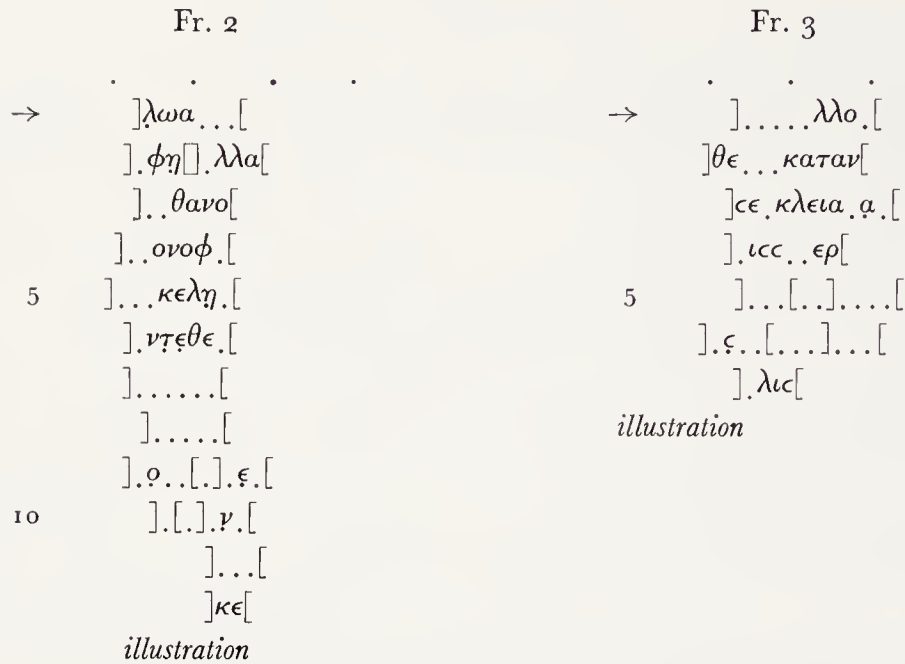
Fr. 2. 1 ...[: low curve as of c etc.; serifed foot: lower part of oblique or curve   3]..: second trace upright, prob. ι   4]..: upright; spots of ink in rough triangle, δ?   .[: high point 5]...: second flat top and upright as of τ: then flat top curving down at left, as of c   6 Of τ only the upright and perhaps the left tip   .[: left-hand arc as of ο, φ, etc.

Fr. 3. 1 ..λ: curved foot as of λ; then perhaps right side of η or π   3 α.: traces of a round letter?   4].: traces on a triangle, δ?   5 Second perhaps κ or ιθ   6 ϛ.: foot and junction as of λ   7].: oblique foot, as of λ

Fr. 2. 5 Not ἵπποιcι κελητίζειν (*Il.* 15. 679).

Fr. 3. 3 εὐκλεία(c) could be read; the non-Homeric form might raise doubts about the general content of the piece. But clearly all is uncertain.

3002. ETHOPOEA

19 2B.75/J (e)   17 × 27 cm.   Fourth century

    A set of twenty-six hexameters, complete except for a few small lacunae; the text occupies the upper part (slightly more than half) of a single sheet; the lower part, and the back of the sheet, are blank.

    The hand is a neat example of a common Byzantine type, which has beginnings in the third century and appears almost unchanged in the sixth (e.g. in the Dioscorus papers, PLitLond. pl. vii). In **3002** the loop of φ is still relatively small, which suggests

an early date. I should compare e.g. PHermRees 2, and assign the text tentatively to the fourth century.

The scribe writes trema fairly consistently, colon and elision-mark from time to time. Iota adscript is omitted in 12 Πριάμῳ and 13 νοήςῃς; otherwise it appears regularly (notice 15 and 25 dative plurals in -ηις-. There are no itacisms. All in all, in orthography as in script, this is a very professional piece.

The text might be classified as an *ethopoea*. This exercise is defined as μίμηςις ἤθους ὑποκειμένου προςώπου, οἷον τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀνδρομάχη ἐπὶ Ἕκτορι (Hermogenes: Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* ii p. 15). Some short hexameter pieces of this kind appear in the Anthology; the papyri have produced others (*AP* 9. 457 ff.; Heitsch, *Gr. Dichterfr.* nos. 21, 26, 37, 38). Some of these start from Homeric situations, and one (21 H.) treats a situation which Homer himself deals with at length. **3002** is different, in that it follows its Homeric original (*Iliad* 1. 207–14) very closely. Homer's Athena restrains Achilles in a speech of eight lines. Her last two lines are rendered in the same compass by **3002** 25–6; the material of her first six lines takes up all of **3002** 1–24; there are no substantive additions, except perhaps in 21–2. In this respect the new text comes close to the alternative exercise of paraphrase, though all examples known to me (some of them very elaborate) are in prose: see *ZPE*, 1970, pp. 138 ff.

The paraphrast makes his way partly by rhetorical expansion and partly by simple repetition; his sentences join only in asyndeton or with δέ. The vocabulary is basically Homeric, with additions from later hexameter poetry. The metre ignores Callimachean niceties (19 and 20 have word-end after both seventh and ninth elements; 20 lacks a secondary caesura (ὑπο|δρήςςων); 25 is a clear breach of Meyer's bridge); equally it shows no Nonnan tendency to consider accent at the line-end. A piece of threadbare sub-Homer, by a writer incapable of thinking more than one line at a time.

→ † εἰ μὲν [ἐ]πὶ Τρώεςςι κορύςςεο χε[ῖρ]ας, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
     καὶ ξίφ[ο]ς ἀςτυφέλικτον ἐρυςς[ά]μενος κοτέεςκες,
     προφρονέως κεν ἔγωγε ςυνείρυ[ς]ᾳ φάςγανον αὐτή·
     εἰ δὲ τεοῖς Δαναοῖς θωρήςςεα[ι, ο]ὐκέτ' Ἀθήνη
5   πείθεται οὐδ' Ἥρη βαςιλήιος· ἴςχεο θᾶςςον,
     ἴςχεο καὶ μῆνιν πολυπήμον[α π]αῦςον, Ἀχιλλεῦ·
     μηκέτι δ' ἀργυρέης ἐπιμάςςεο χ[είρ]εςι κώπης,
     μιμνέτω ἐν κολεῶι ςέο φάςγαν[ον]· οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖς
     ἀνδροφόνον ςε πατὴρ μενεδή[ιος] ἔτρ[[ε]]αφε Πηλεύς,
10   οὔ ςε Θέτις προέηκε θεὰ βαςιλῆι [φ]ονῆα·
     μᾶλλον δυςμενέεςςι κορύςςε[ο], μὴ Δαναο[ῖ]ςι[ν]
     ςοῖς ἑτάροις Πριάμῳ δὲ καὶ υἱάς[ι] πέμψον .[.].. ην·

μήνιδος ἀργαλέης πλῆϲον μένος, εὖτε νοήϲῃς
Ἕκτορα καὶ Τρώων κρατερὸν ϲτρατόν· οὐκ ἐπ' Ἀχαιοὺς

15   φάϲγανον ἐν κλιϲίῃϲιν ἐθήξαο· θυμὸν ἀχεύεις
ϲοῖς ἑτάροις; ἐπέεϲϲι κορύϲϲεο· ἀντὶ δ' ἀκωκῆς
κ]αὶ ξιφέων μύθοιϲιν ἐριδμαίνουϲιν ἑταῖροι,
δ]υϲμενέας κτείνουϲιν ὀρινομένους περὶ χαλκῶι·
φ]είδεό μοι βαϲιλῆος, ἵνα Τροίην ἀλαπάξῃ

20   ϲὺν ϲοὶ μαρνάμενος καὶ ὑποδρήϲϲων ϲέθεν ἀλκῇ·
μῆνιν ἀποσκέδαϲον πολυπήμ[ο]να, μή ϲέ τις ἀνὴρ
Αἰα]κίδην βαρύμηνιν ἐν ὀψιγό[νοιϲ]ιν ἀείϲῃ·
οὐ]χ ἑτάροις κρατερόν ϲ[ε] γέρων [ἐδιδά]ξατο Χείρων,
ἀ]λκήεντα δ' ἔτευξεν .[.].αντ.[.....].λεμι...[]

25   ἠ]θείῃϲι θεῆις ἐπιπείθεο· ϲοὶ δ[έ κεν α]ὐτὸς
λιϲϲόμενος καὶ δῶρα πόροι βα[ϲιλεὺς] Ἀγαμέμνων.
⸜—

5 ουδ' βαϲιληϊος ιϲχεο   6 ιϲχεο αχιλλευ·   7 κωπης·   9 πηλευς·   10 βαϲιληϊ
[φ]ονηα·   12 ην·   15 εθηξαο·   16 κορυϲϲεο· δ'   17 εταιροι·   18 χαλκωι·   19 ινα
22 αειϲηι·   24 δ'   .[: curving back as of ε   ].: upright, perhaps join to top left   .[: upright,
or back as of ε   ].: high right side, as of o   25]θ: horizontal joining ε at mid height

'If it had been the Trojans against whom you were arming your hands, Achilles, and raging with your invincible sword drawn, I myself would willingly have drawn sword along with you. But if it is against your own people, the Greeks, that you arm yourself, Athena no longer agrees, nor does queenly Hera. Restrain yourself quickly, restrain yourself and put an end to the wrath which brings so many sorrows, Achilles. No longer clutch the silver hilt with your hands; let your sword remain in its scabbard. It was not against Greeks that your father, valiant Peleus, brought you up a slayer of men; it was not as killer of the king that the goddess Thetis bore you. Arm against the enemy instead, not against your comrades the Greeks; send a (threat?) to Priam and his sons; fill your spirit with painful wrath, when you see Hector and the strong army of the Trojans. It was not against Greeks that you sharpened your sword in your tent. Do you feel bitterness in spirit against your comrades? Arm yourself with words: comrades strive with words, instead of sharp edge and swords; their enemies they kill in rout with bronze weapons. I would have you spare the king, so that he may sack Troy, fighting along with you and assisting your valour. Dissipate the wrath which brings so many sorrows, lest some man in later generations sing of you as Aeacides heavy in wrath. It was not to be a strong man against your comrades that aged Chiron taught you; he made you valiant . . . Obey the goddesses your friends; and king Agamemnon himself would beseech you and give gifts.'

1 The initial sign is more than an elongated cross; the horizontal turns down at the left, up at the right. Perhaps a version of the crossed *N*, for which see *ZPE* 10 (1973) 150.

κορύϲϲεο χε[ῖρ]ας: *AP* 9. 460. 3 Παλλὰς ἐφ' Ἕκτορι χεῖρα κορύϲϲει ἡμετέρην (one of a series of hexameter epigrams on Homeric themes). In Homer κορύϲϲεϲθαι appears absolute, or with an instrumental dative.

2 *Od.* 9. 300 etc. ξίφος ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ.

ἀστυφέλικτον: not in Homer; Callimachus etc.

3 cυνείρη[c]ạ: a very rare verb, which elsewhere means 'draw together'. Homeric usage would require the middle.

5 βαςιλήιος: in Homer only *Od.* 16. 401 γένος β.

6 Cf. especially *Od.* 24. 543 ἴсχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος.

πολυπήμον[α: *HHCer.* 230, *Merc.* 37 and later poets.

7 *Il.* 1. 219 ᾗ, καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρέῃ κώπῃ, *Od.* 8. 403–4 κώπη | ἀργυρέη; *Od.* 11. 531 ξίφεος δ᾽ ἐπεμαίετο κώπην. ἐπιμάσσεο (the reading is certain) conflates -μαιεο and -μαccαο.

9 *Il.* 22. 421 Πηλεύς, ὅς μιν ἔτικτε καὶ ἔτρεφε πῆμα γενέσθαι.

10 *Il.* 15. 254–5 τοῖόν τοι ἀοссητῆρα Κρονίων | . . . προέηκε παρεστάμεναι; 18. 184 Ἥρη με προέηκε.

12 πέμψον is virtually certain; what follows ends in λην or δην. Perhaps ạ[π]ϵιλήν; cf. Nonnus, *D.* 20. 193 f.

13 *Od.* 2. 199 μνηστύος ἀργαλέης; *Il.* 17. 384–5 ἔριδος . . . ἀργαλέης; *Od.* 3. 135 μήνιος ἐξ ὀλοῆς. Homer always has -ιος, not -ιδος.

πλῆςον μένος: an odd extension of *Il.* 1. 103–4 μένεος μέγα φρένες . . . πίμπλαντ᾽, and similar expressions.

14 κρατερὸν στρατόν not in Homer (κρατερὰς . . . φάλαγγας etc.).

15 — ∪ ∪ ἐν κλιςίῃςιν *Il.* 9. 263 etc.

θυμὸν ἀχεύεις: Homer has only the participle, *Il.* 5. 869 etc.

17 *Il.* 16. 260 ἐριδμαίνωςιν ἔθοντες; *Il.* 2. 342 ἐπέεсс᾽ ἐριδαίνομεν.

18 *Il.* 9. 243 ὀρινομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ, *Il.* 8. 86 κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῷ etc.

20 ὑποδρήссων not in Homer; A.R. 3. 274, Musae. 143, Nonn. *D.* 48. 297 (all in the same *sedes*).

21 *Il.* 19. 77 (*v.l.*) μῆνιν ἀναστενάχων.

22 *Od.* 1. 302 ἵνα τίς сε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐὺ εἴπῃ etc., adapted to refer forward to Homer: a touch of spirit, for once.

βαρύμηνιν: not in Homer; several times in Nonnus.

24 Perhaps ἐ̣π᾽ ἀντι[βι.. π]ọλεμι...[. ἀντι[βίους π]ολεμιστά[c founders on the tau, which does not suit the trace. π]ολεμίсса[ι (Rea) could be read; an aorist of this verb is not attested elsewhere. Cf. *Il.* 3. 435 ἀντίβιον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν.

ἀλκήεντα: first in *HH* 28. 3.

26 *Od.* 4. 130 etc. πόρε δῶρα. Homer has κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων, never βαςιλεὺς Ἀ.

3003. Homeric Narratives

19 2B.76/D (1–2) a   15·8 × 15·5 cm.   Second century

Remains of two columns, written in a round informal hand with frequent cursive forms; the back is blank. The scribe writes middle stop in i 3, and several times a high stop in the form of a short oblique; there are occasional accents and breathings, some perhaps by the second hand which added a correction at ii 15. The Homeric lemmata begin a new line at i 12 and ii 15; they begin in mid line at i 3 (but this is just a continuation of the passage preceding) and ii 2 and perhaps ii 19.

The text falls into sections: i 3 the Phlegyae, i 12 Aeneas, the death of Anchises, the founding of Aenea; ii 3 Danae and Perseus; ii 15 the aegis and Amalthea. Each section begins with a lemma from Homer. The lines chosen come, in correct sequence, from *Iliad* 13, 14, and 15. They are widely separated, and selected for their mythological content.

Prof. Erbse, to whom I am indebted for much help, compares **418**, PSI 1173, PSchubart 21 (see Merkelbach, *Archiv* 16 (1958) 117 f.) : all these contain collections of Homeric ἱστορίαι, of the kind which lies behind the medieval D-Scholia. (See M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text & Scholia of the Iliad* i 303 ff.)

3003 treats the Phlegyae and Aeneas in almost as much detail as the D-Scholia. As might be expected in compilation literature, there is a wide but not complete overlap; despite general uniformity of matter, and extensive verbal coincidence, each story has at least one unique detail (i 3 the home of the Phlegyae; i 19 ff. the foundation of Aenea). But the narratives in col. ii (3 ff., and especially 15 ff.) show considerable abridgement against the medieval versions; it may be that our copyist became bored and started to epitomize.

The D-Scholia are quoted from Dindorf's edition (vol. ii, A; iv, B; vi, T).

<div align="center">

Col. i

.   .   .   .   .   .

</div>

→   ].[   ].[

    c. 13   Θεϲϲ]αλο[ι] καλουντα[ι η] ιϲτορια πα-

    c. 8   ] η[ε με]τα Φλεγυαϲ μεγ[αλητο]ροϲ. Φλε-   *Il.* 13. 302

          γυαι....]ουντεϲ .φερθ .νιαν εληϊ[ζον]το τουϲ πε-

5   ριοικουϲ]· Θηβαιων δε ευλαβουμε[νω]ν αυτουϲ

           οι περι Ζηθ]ον και Αμφιονα τειχι῾ζ᾽ουϲι την πολιν· ει-

           χε γαρ Αμ]φιων απο των Μουϲων λυραν χρυϲην·

           δι ηϲ τουϲ] λιθουϲ επειθεν ο ουκετι ηλθον οι Φλεγυ-

           αι .....]εϲ εωϲ αποθανοντων των περι Ζη[θο]ν

10   ϲυν Ευρυ]μαχω τω βαϲιλει επηρχοντο κα.ετο.[...]

           ....] αυτουϲ Απολλων κατεταρτ[α]ρωϲεν″

           βηναι επ] Αινειαν τον δ ὑϲτατον ἐ[υρ]εν ομιλου´   *Il.* 13. 459

           Τροιαϲ αλ]ουϲηϲ Αινειαϲ αποπλεων μετα του πα-

           τροϲ τη]ν θρεψαϲαν γην εναυαγηϲεν π[ε]ρι Αθω[]

15   ......]θεντων δ αυτων ϲυμβα[ι]νει τον Αγχι-

           ϲην δια τ]ε το γηραϲ και τον κοπον τελευτηϲαι

           ....]η δε ὑπο του υιου Αινειου· οπου και τα

           νυν ταφοϲ] Αγχειϲου καλουμενοϲ· γενομενου δε

           ....]ν κατα πρυμναν φηϲι τω ϲυακι τηϲ

20   ].ου περι.[.].ρ.ν επιϲτην[αι ε]νθα κατα

           την Αφρο]διτηϲ τηϲ μητροϲ εντολ[ην κ]τιζει πο-

Col. ii

```
 1     ]. ορειαπ[

       ]ουκατες .[..].. .[].[ .                    Δανα-

       ης καλλισφυρου .[                                        Il. 14. 319

       Α]ργους βασιλεως [

 5     νομενω τωπα[

       κρεινατο· ο δε οργ .[

       κα[[θ]]αυτην βαλλει .[

       θαλασσαν· π .[].. .[

       νησω ανα .[].β[

10     της βασιλειας φ[

       γαρ εκαλ ... οοπα[

     / .κτελε ... συντ[

       φευγοντο ..[..].[

       ....χ...υτου .[
       >—          ειρες
15     αλλα συ γ εν χερσι [λαβ αιγιδα θυσσανοεσσαν Ρεα τε-      Il. 15. 229

       κουσα Δια ..[].[

       .αθεμενη τον π[

       και Θεμιδι η δε[

       την Αμαλθιαν   [

20     γαντοσε .ρ....[

       κεναι ταυτην λ[
```

i 1].[   ]: very long descender, ρ or φ   20]. : γ, ς, or τ

ii 1]. : upright, right horizontal at top   2].. : first a long descender as of ρ or φ   6 .[: upright   7 .[: round back and cross-bar (ε or θ)   8 .[: long descender   ]. : upper curve as of ς   ..[upright with projection at middle height; curve and top as of α λ μ   9 .[: peak as of δ λ   11 .ο: upright and horizontal as of τ   12 .κ: upper curve as of ε ς   ε... : curved back and cross-bar (ε θ ς): upper curve and horizontal to right (ε θ); upright with horizontal bar above   13 .[: top of upright   14 ....: upper left quadrant as of ς; ο?; upright with horizontal above; upper left quadrant as of ς   χ. : upright, upright, trace of cross-bar between?   .υ: upper curve, low tail joining υ (α?)   16 ..[: upper curve and cross-bar as of θ; top of upright   .[: upright with cross-bar to right   17 .: foot of upright   20 ε.: upright   ρ. : upright with cross-bar at middle height   .[: upright   21 Space before λ[

(Col. i) '... "Ephyrians" is a name for Thessalians; the story is in ... "Or against the valiant Phlegyans": the Phlegyans, who lived in ..., used to plunder their neighbours. As the Thebans were taking precautions against them, Zethus and Amphion and their friends built a wall for the city; Amphion had received from the Muses a gold lyre, with which he charmed the stones. So the Phlegyans

stopped coming, until after the death of Zethus and his friends they were attacking every year with their king Eurymachus . . . Apollo hurled them into Tartarus.

'"To go to Aeneas; and him he found last in the throng": after the capture of Troy, Aeneas sailed away from his native land with his father and was shipwrecked around Athos . . . They were saved, but it came about that Anchises died from age and fatigue; and he was buried by his son Aeneas, at the place where there is still the so-called Tomb of Anchises. And . . . he says that a dove alighted on the rudder of his ship (??); and there, in obedience to the behest of his mother Aphrodite, he founded a city . . .'

Col. i 2–3 The end of comment on *Il.* 13. 301, followed without paragraphing by lemma and comment for 302: Ἐφύρουϲ μέτα θωρήϲϲεϲθον | ἠὲ μετὰ Φλεγύαϲ μεγαλήτοραϲ.

2 Θεϲϲ]αλο[ι glosses Ἐφύρουϲ; ἡ] ἱϲτορία πα|[ρὰ should name the authority. τοὺϲ καλουμένουϲ Κραν-νωνίουϲ ἐν Θεϲϲαλίᾳ, ὡϲ Ἀπολλόδωροϲ ἱϲτορεῖ ΣΑ (Θεϲπρωτοὺϲ ΣΒ; οἱ μὲν Θεϲπρωτοὺϲ . . . οἱ δὲ Κραννωνίουϲ ΣΤ). If Apollodorus was cited here, the name must have been abbreviated: the initial lacuna in 3 has room for *c.* 8 letters only. The following lemma is set off by a blank space, which may itself have extended back into the lacuna.

3–11: *Il.* 13. 302. Our text and ΣΑ agree very closely in outline (but A adds a reference to the burning of the Delphic temple, and cites Pherecydes); some of the same material in T; a single sentence in B.

3 μεγ[αλητο]ροϲ: simple error for -αϲ.

4 ΣΑ has Γόρτυναν κατοικοῦντεϲ; T mentions Gortyn or Daulis.[1]]ουντεϲ will be the participle; what follows ought to be a place-name. But the substantial remains fit no known place-name. I read .φερθ.νιαν, in which the φ is almost certain (the left half of the bowl, and the foot of the descender); after θ the trace (complicated by a long descender from above) looks most like ε; before φ is a single low point, which might be the tip of ϲ preceding (but unusually low) or the top of ι(ων) below (unusually high), or belong to a substantive ι or ρ. Βειθυνίαν is unattractive both as a reading and as a home for Phlegyae.

8 επειθεν ο: ὅ 'for which reason' looks rather high-flown. Did he intend ἔπειθε· διό?

9 e.g. δεδιότ]εϲ (Erbse).

10 κα.ετο.[: perhaps κατ' ἔτοϲ (Rea). καὶ ετο.[(e.g. ἐτολ[μη-) makes it harder to imagine a construction for the next line.

12–21 *Il.* 13. 459. Our text and A agree very closely; nothing in B and T.

12 A dash is written above (Αιν)ει(αν): presumably a mark of quantity, rather than a means of separating paragraphs.

13 ἀποπλέων: 'seltsam, exspectes ἀπολιπών' (Erbse).

15 e.g. ϲω]θέντων.

17 e.g. ἐκηδεύθ]η.

17–18 καὶ τὰ | [νῦν: καιτ is an acceptable reading, except that all four letters are touched by a horizontal stroke at line-level (it may extend also to the final α, but the surface is damaged). Did the scribe mean to delete the words? ΣΑ has ὅπου καὶ νῦν.

18 ff. A has: θάψαϲ δὲ αὐτὸν Αἰνείαϲ ὅπου καὶ νῦν τάφοϲ ἐϲτὶν Ἀγχίϲου λεγόμενοϲ ἐν πυάνῃ κατὰ βούληϲιν τῆϲ μητρὸϲ Ἀ. πόλιν ἔκτιϲεν. 3003 clearly gave a more circumstantial account. At the beginning, Erbse suggests: γενομένου δὲ | [τοῦ ἀνέμο]υ κατὰ πρύμναν. The rest depends on two doubtful readings:

ϲυακι: ϲ looks certain (not φ). The traces following are the top of an oval, and the upper right-hand arc of a circle: I have taken these together as the prongs of υ.

περι.[.].ρ.ν: after περι, upright and high cross-bar, as of γ or π or τ or square ϲ; before ρ perhaps the top loop and cross-bar of ε; after ρ a much damaged letter, perhaps the loop and tail of α.

I have tried two approaches. (1) 'Aeneas tells . . . to halt at . . .'. περὶ .[.]ερ̣α̣ν would then be a geographical expression, locating Aenea. But I have found no suitable reading. (2) 'He says that a dove alighted on . . .'. But this requires the reading περιϲ[τ]ερ̣α̣ν, where the space is really too narrow for τ; and in any case φηϲι now lacks a subject. Neither (1) nor (2) makes sense of ϲυακι, if it derives from ϲύαξ 'a kind of pulse'. The word may be corrupt: τῷ οἴακι τῆϲ | [νεὼϲ αὐ]τοῦ would at least have some relevance.

[1] Gortyna is a mistake (or variant) for Gyrtona: see the other sources for the habitat of the Phlegyae, collected by H. Grégoire, *Asklepios* 113 f.

ΣA has a *vox nihili*, ἐν πνανη. πύανος, like *cύαξ*, is a kind of beans or pulse: but this coincidence seems to lead nowhere. Possibly ἐν Πύδνῃ, across the gulf from Aenea?

Col. ii 1–2 I have not identified the subject. There are two clues. (1) It looks as if an authority was cited: ἥ ἱc]|τορεία τ[αρά. (2) The next lemma begins at the end of line 2, not in a new paragraph: when this happens at i 3, the lemmata come from consecutive lines. But (1) leads nowhere, for the extant scholia cite authority several times between 13. 459 and 14. 319. (2) would point to 14. 317 (Ἰξιονίης) as the subject; but the argument is shaky, see 19–21 note.

2–14 *Il.* 14. 319. Our text has the same story in outline as AB, omitting the underground chamber and the role of Proetus; but the wording differs substantially. Supplements might assume that the line-length was the same as in col. i, i.e. *c.* 35/40 letters, cf. 15.

3 .[: the trace is indeterminate. The lemma may continue with A[κρισιωνης; or the comment begin here.

4–6 Danae was daughter of Acrisius king of Argos; she became pregnant; when her father asked who her lover was, she answered 'Zeus'. Restore (as Erbse suggests) πυνθα]|νομένῳ τῷ τα[τρὶ - - - ἀπε]|κρείνατο.

6–7 e.g. ὁ δὲ ὀργι[cθεὶc - - - εἰc λάρνα]|κα.

8–9 e.g. πρ[ο]c..[..θεῖcαν δὲ αὐτὴν Cερίφῳ τῇ] | νήcῳ ἀναλ[α]μβ[άνει. But I can't read a suitable participle (in the sense of προcενεχθεῖcαν) at the beginning.

10–11 e.g. ἐκ] | τῆc βαcιλείαc φ[εύγει ὁ Ἀκρίcιοc· οὔτω] | γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ πα[τήρ. But what then is the reference of 13 φεύγοντοc?

12 The most likely reading is ϛκτελεϛεῖ, i.e. ἐκτελέcει(ν)? In the margin an oblique stroke, which may refer to this line or the next: does it mark a passage needing correction?

15–19 *Il.* 15. 229. Approximately the same in outline as AB (T has a quite different note): but here Rhea deposits the child with . . . and Themis; and Themis takes it to Amalthea; the rest of the story (the Titans and the childhood of Zeus) is omitted.

15 χερcι corrected to χειρεccι by a second hand.

17 e.g. πα]|ραθεμένη τὸν π[αῖδα. (Not κα]τα- or με]τα-, since there is preserved papyrus where the cross-bar of τ would show.)

19–21 It is tempting to restore this as comment on 15. 256, where AB write Ἑρμῆc ὁ Διὸc καὶ Μαίαc τῆc Ἀτλαντοc εὖρε λύραν. Then 20 γαντος εὖρε . . . [(the remaining traces are too slight to confirm λύρ[αν), 20–1 ηὑρη]|κέναι ταύτην λ[έγεται. This means that a completely new topic begins after the *vacat* in 19, which is not impossible. But the absence of paragraphus is disquieting; and I can think of nothing for the beginning of 20 except γί]|γαντος as a description of Atlas.

3004. GNOMOLOGY

A slip of papyrus, written in a cramped and ugly hand without lectional signs; the letter-forms may be compared with those of **216** (Roberts, *GLH* 10a) and assigned to the earlier first century. The writer made several mistakes, and one line at least is hopelessly garbled: a school exercise, perhaps.

The slip contains iambic *gnomai*; the first line begins with α, the second with β, and so on up to ν, where the set breaks off. The same hand has added a single line, not related to the series, on the back. Lines 1 to 7 pursue a single topic (filial piety); 1 to 3 even form a syntactic unit, and so in effect do 4 and 5. From 8 on there is no more relation between successive lines than might be expected in a group of precepts for the good life.

Such alphabetic sets are not new: S. Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* Pap. II, VIII (also incomplete), IV (in reverse order). IV, like our text, begins with an attempt at

continuous sense. These examples make it clear that the set was constructed by selection from larger compilations; but it seems likely enough that the writer could supplement them from his own invention or adaptation, especially when he wished to produce a sentence of more than one line. In fact, of the fourteen lines in **3004**, three occur in the transmitted *Sententiae*. The rest I have not identified elsewhere.

One at least of the unattested lines may go back to New Comedy. Clitopho in line 1 has no obvious function. Assume that the name was taken over regardless from an original dramatic context: it would be tempting to assign the line (and accordingly line 2, which completes it) to the same play as Menander fr. 598 K:

<div align="center">

αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πατέρα, Κλειτοφῶν, μόνον.
ἀντιβλέπειν ἐκεῖνον οὐ δυνήσομαι
ἀδικῶν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ῥᾳδίως χειρώσομαι.

</div>

Both are very filial sentiments. Clinia might have addressed Clitipho, in Terence's *Heauton*, in such terms; and there is nothing to stop us attributing the two fragments to the Menandrean original. But clearly the possibilities are too wide to make speculation worth while.

The survival of the proper name may seem odd. But there is an instructive parallel. *Monost.* 698 reads ῥάθυμος ἐὰν ᾖς πλούσιος πένης ἔσῃ (and so verbatim Pap. II 17 Jäkel). The same line appears in an alphabetic set (Pap. IV 8 Jäkel) as ῥάθυμος ἐὰν ᾖς, Φανία, πένης ἔσει. Körte (*Archiv* xiv 126) suggested that Phania was the rich man of Menander's *Citharista*; and that πλούσιος is an adaptation, to make the line more intelligible in isolation.

On gnomologies see **3005** introduction.

<div>

 → ἀρετὴ⟨ν⟩ νόμιζε Κλειτοφῶν ειν[
   βεβαιότητα καὶ φιλίαν τὴν προ[
   γνοὺς ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἔδειξε τουτος . . τοφ[
   δίκαιον εὐθύς ἐστιν ἀγαπᾶν μητέρα·
5 ἐκ]ύησεν ἐμόχθησεν ἐξέτρεψε . . . . [
   ζῶ]ν εἵνεκ' αὐτῶν ἀπόδος αὐτοῖς τὴν χά[ριν
   ἡδὺ] μετὰ τούτων εὐτυχεῖν καὶ δυστυχ[εῖν
   θε]ράπευε τούς τε δυναμένους οις . . . . . [
   ἰσό]τητα τειμᾶν μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν μηδ[ένα
10 κ]ακὸν ἂν διώκῃς κέρδος ὀδυνήσῃ . . [
   λέ]ων ενοικων νεβρος ιστι συμμα . [
   μ]έμνησο πλουτῶν τοὺ⟨ς⟩ πένητας εὖ ποιεῖ[ν
   ν]εον δαδεκακατωιτατης τύχης

14 (Back ↓) θεὸς θεῶι διδ[[υμ]]ωςι δεξιαν . [

</div>

3 c‍..: back and base of round letter: foot of descender 5 ....[: upright?; upright; upright or back of rounded letter; high point of ink 8 .....[: closed loop, perh. o ligatured to following letter; third trace perh. α (δ), or o, or loop of β or φ; fourth prob. λ; last ε or θ 10 ..[: right end of thick horizontal; riser as of λ

1 Supplement e.g. εἶν[αι μόνην.

2 Supplement e.g. τὴν πρὸ[c γονεῖc. Stobaeus IV 25. 31a (author unknown) βεβαιοτέραν ἔχε τὴν φιλίαν (Gaisford: τ. φ. ε. MSS.) πρὸc τοὺc γονεῖc.

3 I suppose ἔδειξε τοῦτό cοι τὸ φ[ῶc, 'gave you life', though I cannot parallel the phrase.

5 Read ἐκ]ύηc', ἐμόχθηc', ἐξέθρεψ(εν). Menander fr. 685 K is similar: ⟨ὑπ⟩εδεξάμην, ἔτικτον, ἐκτρέφω, φιλῶ. This suggests ἐξέτρεψεν (l. ἐξέθρεψ') ἐφ[ίληcέ cε in our text, but *phi* is unlikely as a reading.

6 εἵνεκ': Lloyd-Jones remarks that the Attic form is οὕνεκα (see Barrett on E. *Hippolytus* 453–6). Extant Menander uses only ἕνεκα.

7 ἡδὺ]: e.g. *Monost.* 303. Pap. III 7 and 9 Jäkel ὡc ἡδὺ γονέων καὶ τέκνων ὁμιλία.

8 *Monost.* 337 θεράπευε τὸν δυνάμενον αἰεί c' ὠφελεῖν. Our writer perhaps intended τούc γε, and then ⟨c⟩οι; but I cannot read a suitable infinitive at the end.

9 *Monost.* 362 (μὴ Σ, καὶ Mk, om. A). The apparent infinitives here are probably simple misspellings; read τίμα, πλεονέκτει.

10 At the end, πλ[έον suits the traces well.

11 λέ]ων seems inevitable, since the initial lacuna (which corresponds exactly with μ] in line 12) will scarcely hold more than two letters. Then ἐνοικῶν or ἐν οἴκῳ{ν}; at the end perhaps cυμμαχ[-. If some form of νεβρόc was intended, we could compare the proverb ὁ νεβρὸc τὸν λέοντα (Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 8. 1). But it may well be corrupt: λέων ἐν οἴκῳ δόλιόc ἐcτι cύμμαχοc? (I owe this view of the general sense to the Press Reader: compare the fable in Aesch. *Ag.* 717, Aristoph. *Ran.* 1431. As an alternative model he suggests Aristoph. *Pax* 1189 οἴκοι μὲν λέοντεc, ἐν μάχῃ δ' ἀλώπεκεc.) Or ιcτι may conceal εἰc τί (Lloyd-Jones).

12 *Monost.* 478 (but there ὠφελεῖν).

13 νέον at the beginning, perhaps τὰ τῆς τύχης at the end (though the sigma of τῆc has been corrected or overwritten). I can make nothing of the middle. δε looks like a correction; λ might be intended instead of δ; ε is overwritten on what was perhaps the shaft and left cross-stroke of τ, so that the combination resembles θ. The sense should be νέον ὄντα δεῖ cε καρτερεῖν τὰ τῆc τύχηc (Lloyd-Jones).

14 At the end, probably δεξιὰν χ[έρα. I have found no parallel for this pleasing line: is it a variation on ἁ χεὶρ τὰν χεῖρα νίζει?

3005. Gnomology

The recto of this roll contained a register of persons; the register mentions the 9th year of Domitian (i 4) and an unspecified (current) 7th year (ii 1), and refers to an *epicrisis* in the 2nd year of Hadrian (ii 3). The back has been reused for an anthology of iambic *gnomai*, written in a Severe Style of familiar type.

The anthology is arranged under subject-headings: i 12 [περὶ εὐδοξίας] καὶ ἀδοξίας, 20 [περὶ ἐλπίδος] καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτου (both set off by a scalloped border above); i 1–11 presumably belong to a section περὶ χάριτος καὶ ἀχαριστίας, continued from the preceding column; the blank beginnings ii 4, 9, and 14 imply similar indented headings. Paragraphi separate individual *gnomai*, some of which extend to more than one line (i 2–3, ii 2–3, 6–7, 10–11).

This sort of arrangement (as against the commoner alphabetic series) has some parallels in papyrus anthologies: see Maehler, *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967) 70 ff. Equally it recalls Stobaeus, who has sections περὶ ἀχαριστίας (ii 46, including **3005** i 2–3, 6–7), περὶ εὐδοξίας (ii 17, lost), and περὶ ἐλπίδος, περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα (iv 46–7, including **3005** i 21 and perhaps 24).

Stobaeus is the parallel for another remarkable feature. In col. ii, where the left margin is preserved, it can be seen that the scribe noted the source of the quotations: τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ), Κόλακ(ος), Cυνερώ(cης), [Βοι?]ωτ(ίας). *Colax* and *Synerosa* are plays of Menander; so too is *Boeotia*, assuming the supplement to be correct.

This raises a further question. Two or three plays of Menander are explicitly referred to in col. ii. Four or five lines in col. i are identifiable elsewhere; all belong to Menander. The presumption is, then, that the unidentified lines come from the same author. There is one argument against this: τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) (ii 2) would normally mean 'from the same writer', and imply that other writers were cited. But the sense 'from the same play' is at least possible, and should be preferred.

If the anthology is entirely Menandrean, it has no exact parallel. There is indeed a recension of the *Monostichoi* under subject-headings (Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* p. xi); the heading εἰς ἀχαριστίαν includes **3005** i 6–7. But that collection confines itself to single lines, and never notes the source. **3005** is therefore unique in form; and, since it overlaps very little with other surviving collections, it provides new material at least for Menander's vocabulary.

For gnomic anthologies in general, see S. Jäkel, *Menandri Sententiae* (1964). Some new texts have appeared since this edition: **2661**; *Rech. de Pap.* 2 (1962) 114; *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967) 71; **3004**; **3006**. Full publication of the Greco-Coptic versions, and bibliography, in *ZPE* 3 (1968) 15 ff. (with corrections in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 288, *CÉ* 47 (1972) 351).

Col. i

↓   ]οιπον αυταρκης[

ουχι την αυτην εχ]ει

διανοιαν αιτων εις] εκαστος και λαβω[ν

        ]εν τοις πασιν ανθρωποις χαρις

5   ]μπυρευμ' ακαρη[]δετι

αει δ ο σωθεις εστι]ν αχαριστον φυσει

αμ ηλεηται και τε]θνηκεν η χαρις

      ]παθη κρινει φιλον

      ]κοτως χαριν τ' εχει

10   ].σαντις αποδοιη χαριν

     ]εται τροπωι χαρις

      ⌣   ⌣   ⌣

     ] και αδοξιας

     ]νεστ' ενδοξια

     ].ιοτ' ουδ αδοξιας

15   ].υνησει. τετταρων

    ].στ' ισως[ ]θενη

    ]. γαρ ωνια

    ]ρα: μη τα προς τρυφην

    ]ρος τον οχλον ευδοξια

     ⌣   ⌣   ⌣   ⌣

20   ] και απροσδοκητου

ω Ζευ πολυτιμηθ οι]ον εστ' ελπις κακον

      ]πασιν κακων

     ].[].[..]...ν τρει

       ]ροσδοκαν[

Col. ii

```
              ·     ·        ·     ·

 1           [        _].[

     του α⁻[        ].οcω.[

             [        .]υχοθ[

                         [

 5    κο̣λα̣ᵏ          αλαζ[

      cυν̣ε̣ρ̣ω          π..ρ̣[

         ]            αυτω[

       ]ωᵗ            ωc ηδυ[

         ]               [

10       ].            ευνοιαν̣[

         ]̣            απα.[

                     ].τρι.[

                      .]cτιc[

                      ]    [

15                    .]cτιc[

                     ].ν[]..[

              ·     ·        ·     ·
```

ii 1 Long flat base joining upright (ω?)   2].: high horizontal as of τ   .[: long descender
6 π..: left-hand arc; foot of upright   11 .[: upright   12].: short vertical   .[round back,
o or c   16].: upright   ]. upright

Col. i To judge from the probable supplements in 2–3, 6–7, and 21, the lines of this column lack
c. 15 letters to the left.

1 λ]οιπόν; then αὐτάρκης [◡ – or αὐτάρκῇ c[◡ –.

2–3 Menander fr. 477 (Stob. ii 46. 8).

4 This line projects some five letters further to the right than any other. It seems unlikely that
the anthologist would include a trochaic tetrameter; in any case the diaeresis would fall awkwardly
after τοῖc. Perhaps the quotation included the last word or two of a line, followed by a complete tri-
meter: long, but not long enough to be set out in two lines as with 2–3. Cf. *Monost.* 743 τέθνηκ᾽ ἐν
ἀνθρώποιcιν †απαcα χάρις (πᾶcιν ἡ χάρις Meineke), which suggests τέθνηκεν] ἐν here.

5 ἐ]μπύρευμ᾽ seems the only possibility. Then ἀκαρή[c], or ἀκαρῆ if the small lacuna was blank;
δ᾽ ἔτι or δέ τι. The η has been corrected, perhaps from α; but the final intention is clear. Extant
Menander uses ἀκαρής adverbially, 'all but' (Austin on *Aspis* 307). There is not much room for a con-
struction. It is, I suppose, just possible that the sense extended into line 6, which must then have had
some form other than that transmitted in the MSS. Or 5 might be corrupt: ἀκαρῆ[c] δ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ⟨ε⟩ῖ?
Lloyd-Jones.

6–7 *Monost.* 42–3 = Men. fr. 478 and 479 (Stob. ii. 46. 9 and 9a), except that fr. 479 continues
with a further line to make a couplet. MSS. of *Monost.* give ἀχάριcτος; the papyrus agrees with L
of Stobaeus in the neuter, which is clearly to be preferred (Kühner–Gerth i 59).

8 cυμ]παθῆ: cf. *Monost.* 385 κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρός.

9 εἰ]κότως.

10].c ἄν τις: the initial trace looks most like a right-hand arc, i.e.]οc or]ωc.

12 Supplement περὶ εὐδοξίας, or perhaps περὶ δόξης.

13]ν ἐcτ'; or ἔ]νεcτ', cύ]νεcτ'.

14].ιοτ': τ has been corrected, perhaps from ρ. ἐ]ρίοτ' suggests itself; but the initial trace is part of a low upright; with ν, which tends to the right, one might expect to see the upward continuation.

15].υνηςει.: the first trace is a short upright, or right-hand arc, at about half line-height: this suggests ο or ρ (not δ or κ); at the end, probably the top of a damaged c. I have found nothing to fit either -υνηςεις or -υνης εἰς. Three or four cubits is the entire kingdom of even the most famous in death (*Comp.* ii 57 f. Jäkel).

16].cτ': the traces (a high point, horizontal at mid height below) would suit εcτ'. After ιcωc there is space for two letters; there is no sign of ink, although the surface is well preserved.

17].: a junction, probably the right half of ν. Cf. Menander fr. 306 οὐκ ἔcτι μοιχοῦ πρᾶγμα τιμιώτερον. | θανάτου γάρ ἐcτιν ὤνιον.

18 'Seek modest sufficiency, not luxury.'

19 π]ρός. 'Fame with the mob is not worth having.'

20 περὶ ἐλπίδος] καὶ ἀπροcδοκήτου.

21 Menander fr. 289 (Stob. iv 46. 8): *Naukleros*.

23 πόει: many lines follow this pattern, e.g. *Monost.* 520.

24 Perhaps Menander, *Cith.* fr. 7, cited by Stob. iv 46. 9 immediately after line 21: οὕτω τι πρᾶγμ' ἐcτ' ἐπίπονον τὸ προcδοκᾶν.

Col. ii 1 If the alignment with col. i is exact, this will have been the sixth line of col. ii. Enough margin survives to show that no note of source was attached to this line or the two (now lost) before it: i.e. a citation of at least four lines.

2 του ā⁻: τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) in Stobaeus refers to the author. But here the note (again perhaps in 10) stands on a par with the names of plays in 5 etc.; understand accordingly τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος. The line cited perhaps began τὸ cωφ[ρονεῖν or sim.

3 Perhaps ο]ὐχ ὁ θ[e.g. θ[εός.

5 Κόλακ(ος). The line was perhaps *Monost.* 35 ἀλαζονείας οὔτις ἐκφεύγει δίκην. (Menander fr. 520, a line and a half, is too long.)

6 Cυνερώ(cης). The traces suit πειρ[ῶ; but none of the known lines with this beginning (*Monost.* 634, 657, 675) goes well with ἀλαζονεία.

8]ωτ: of Menander's known titles, only *Boιωτία* and *Cτρατιῶται* fit the two surviving letters; and if the marginal notes began in alignment with one another, *Cτρατιωτ(ῶν)* is too long.

ὡc ἡδύ is a very common beginning: *Monost.* 855 etc.

10 The trace in the margin is a long horizontal, which would suit του α]⁻.

12 The traces suit ωτρις[. Possibly Menander fr. 335. 1 (*Monost.* 861) ὦ τριςκακοδαίμων, ὅcτις ὢν πένης γαμεῖ.

13, 15 ὅ]cτις.

3006. Gnomology

This piece contains two columns, full height but much damaged, from an anthology of iambic *gnomai*. The hand is a plain round one, with large pointed initial alphas. I should assign it to the third century rather than the second (notice the large β, and the long-tailed form of α with no bow). The back is blank.

All twenty-six lines begin with alpha. This collection was therefore more ambitious than **2661** and the papyrus reprinted in Jäkel's *Menandri Sententiae* Pap. XIV; and comparable with the medieval *Monostichoi*, from which we have the end of a third-century version in PIand. 77 (Pap. III Jäkel). At least twenty of our twenty-six lines recur in the *Monostichoi*, though only occasionally in the same order (6, 8–9, 11 = *Mon.* 4–7; 17–18 = *Mon.* 16, 18). Of five which certainly do not appear in the *Monostichoi*, four are unidentified; the other is ascribed by Stobaeus to 'Hippothoon' (l. 13 and note).

It was to be expected that such anthologies would draw largely on a common stock, without overlapping completely. Equally characteristic are variations within the tradition: 6 and 23 show substantial changes of wording; 26 agrees with Stobaeus against the *Monostichoi*; 3 and 11, and perhaps 2, preserve readings superior to those of the MSS.

For bibliography, see **3005** introduction.

The bracketed figures in the margin of the text refer to the *Monostichoi*.

Col. i

→	......]... μη[τ] α[κο]υε μηθ ορα	(48)
	....].ͅα πολλα βλαπτονται βροτοιc	(17)
	απαν το] κερδοc το αδικον τικτι βλαβην	(8)
	ανθρωποc ω]ν μεμνηcο τηc κοινηc τυχηc	(10)
5	αναπαυcι]c εcτι τ[ω]ν κακων παντων υπνοc	(76)
	α.].[....].ξει του β[ιου] τα π̣[ρ]α̣γματα	(4)
	αν̣δρ̣[οc τ]α̣ π̣ρο̣cπιπτοντα γ[εν]ν̣αι̣ω̣c φερειν	(15)
	αθανατον εχθραν μη φυλ[αc]cε θνητο[c] ων	(5)
	απαξ ακουcε τ̣ο̣υc ελευθερ[ο]υc κα̣[λ]ο̣ν̣	(6)
10	αρχοντι πιθου και δικαιωc και αδικω[c	
	α ψεγομεν αυλου ταυ̣τα μη μιμωμε[θ]α	(7)
	ανδρων δικεων καρποc ου[κ] α[πο]λλ[υται	(28)
	αριcτον ανδρι [κ]τ[η]μα cυνπαθη[c γυνη	

Col. ii

αδι[κον το] λυπιν [τους φιλους εκουςιως   (11)

15   αν̣θρ[...].ο̣.....π̣.[

αγαθ[ον] μ̣[ε]γ̣[ι]ςτον̣ η φ̣[ρ]ο̣[νηςις εςτ αει   (14)

αγει το θε[ι]ον τους [κ]ακο[υς προς την δικην   (16, 80)

ανθρωπον οντα ςεαυτον [αναμιμνηςκ αει   (18)

αςυλλ[ο]γιςτος εςτιν η π[ονηρια   (36)

20   αει τ[...].[..]..[...]ιωκε του β[ιου   (3)

αν̣δρ[ων δ]ικ̣ε̣ω̣ν [ει]ς̣ι ςωτηρες θ[εοι

ανθρ[ω]πος ω̣[ν γιγν]ωςκε της ορ[γης κρατειν   (22)

αν̣δρ.[..]..[..]ρ̣.[...]υ.[]διαν̣..[(25?)

απ̣αν̣τ̣α̣ κ̣[α]ι̣ρω χα̣[ρι]ν̣ εχι τρυγωμ̣[ενα   (9)

25   ανευ δ[...].......[].[]ιβο.ο̣υμ̣α̣ν̣.[

αν̣θρω[πος α]τυχω̣ν̣ [ς]ωζε[ται υ]πο τ[ης ελπιδος   (30)

2]..ạ: second is flat top as of τ   6].[: flat top as of τ   ].: upright, horizontal joining
from left at two-thirds height (ligature? or just possibly ι with looped top)   15 ο.....: lower tip
of left-hand arc (ε, ς?); foot of upright, horizontal above; upright with horizontal joining from left;
round letter, ο perh. ς; round letter? something suprascript   .[: upright   23]ρ.: lower left arc of
circle   υ.[: upright   ..[: oblique tail as of α, λ; foot with right-pointing serif   25]ιβο.ọ:
oblique foot as of λ   .[: foot of long descender

1 Perhaps ἂ μὴ προςῇ]κ⟨ε⟩ι, as in *Monost.* (and **2661** 4). But the first trace, a low point of ink
(above ạ in line 2), is left unexplained.
2 Perhaps ἀβουλί]ạ τ̣ὰ πολλά; the traces suit, but the supplement looks a little long. ἀβουλία γὰρ
πολλὰ (*Monost.*) cannot be read.
3 L. τίκτει. A new solution to an old problem: MSS. of *Monost.* have ἅπαν τὸ κέρδος ἄδικον φέρει
(τίκτει ζ) βλάβην; Jäkel prints ἄδικον ⟨ὂν⟩ (Meineke).
5 The same text in *Monost.* (except that MSS. of group Γ write ἀπραξία in place of ὕπνος); and
(garbled) in the Greco-Coptic version, see *ZPE* 3 p. 26, 3–6 note. Jäkel prints the transposition ἀνάπαυςις
ὕπνος ἐςτὶ τῶν πάντων κακῶν (Erbse).
6 In *Monost.* this line begins αὐτά ςε διδάςκει. Here]ηξει or]ειξει would be possible readings, but
not]αξει.
9 L. ἀκοῦςαι.
10 L. πείθου. Unidentified.
11 αυλου: the scribe intended ἄλλου (which cannot be read, for it leaves unexplained the rising
stroke before λου). *Monost.* has ἡμεῖς; ἄλλου greatly improves the sharpness of the line.
12 L. δικαίων. *Monost.* has the singular ἀνδρὸς δικαίου.
13 'Euripides fr. 164' N. But the ascription to Euripides is dubious. Stobaeus, the only source,
quotes the line under the heading Ἱπποθόωντος (iv 22a. 14); it can be attached to the preceding citation
(from Euripides' *Antigone*) only by ignoring this heading. Observe that our line 4 =*Monost.* 10 ap-
pears at Stob. iii 22. 25 under Ἱπποθόου. Other fragments of 'Hippothoon/-os', *TGF*² p. 827 (B. Snell,
TrGF i pp. 321 f.).
14 L. λυπεῖν.
15 Unidentified. The traces allow e.g. ἄνθρ[ωπο]ς̣ ὅς̣τις̣ .π̣.[.
19 *Monost.* has ἀςυλλόγιςτον, rightly. Cf. **3005** i 6–7 n.

20 *Monost.* has ἀεὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἐκδίωκε τοῦ βίου (ἀποδίωκε Stob.). Here τ[ο λυ]π could be read; but I am not sure that the other traces fit.

21 L. δ]ικαίων. Unidentified. It occurs to me that something similar may have stood in the gnomic text published in *Rech. de Pap.* 2 (1962) 114. The first lines of this slip read:

]ναπαντωνειϲι
]εϲθεοιφαυλων
]ητηρεϲενβρχρονω

We might try: ἀγαθῶ]ν ἁπάντων εἰϲὶ [ϲωτῆρ]εϲ θεοί, | φαύλων [δε ...]ητηρεϲ ἐν βρ⟨αχεῖ⟩ χρόνῳ. But I can think of no supplement for the second line more plausible than λωβ]ητῆρεϲ or δηλ]ητῆρεϲ.

23 *Monost.* has: ἀνδρὸϲ πονηροῦ (πανουργοῦ ο) φεῦγε ϲυνοδίαν ἀεί (τὰϲ ϲυναυλίαϲ ο, τὴν ϲυνουϲίαν Γ). Here ἀνδρό[ϲ π]ον[η]ρο[ῦ might be read, assuming that the letters were well spaced.]ν following has been crossed through, and one or possibly two letters (the first rounded) written over it. Perhaps φυγε was corrected to φευγε. Then write ἀνδρό[ϲ πονη]ρο[ῦ φ]ε̣ῦγ̣[ε] ⟨ϲυνο⟩δίαν ἀ⟨ε⟩ί. (The alternative ἀνδρό[ϲ π]ον[η]ρο[ῦ ϲ]υν[ο]δίαν.,[does not explain the suprascript.)

24 L. ἔχει.

25 Unidentified. *ZPE* 3 p. 27 ll. 25 f. ἄνευ δὲ πληγῆϲ οὐδὲ εἷϲ μανθάνει τὰ γράμματα (sic). But οὐ μανθ[άνει here would be objectionable on two counts: θ[does not suit the apparent trace of a long descender; and the letter before ου looks like λ (τρ]ιβόλου, περ]ιβόλου).

26 The papyrus agrees with Stobaeus against the MSS. of *Monost.* (ἀνὴρ ἀτυχῶν δὲ ϲῴζεται ταῖϲ ἐλπίϲιν).

3007. ETHICAL QUESTIONS

Plate V

22 3B. 19/D (1–4) a　　　　　9·7 × 15·7 cm.　　　　　Second/third century

This text is written in an easy Severe Style on the back of a second-century register. The scribe was practised but hasty: itacism is common; iota adscript once rightly, three times wrongly. There are no lectional signs. i 2, 4, and 9 end with space-fillers.

The work is divided into sections by forked paragraphi: i 25, ii 9. In both cases, the new section began with a group of indented lines, three or more for the first, four for the second. These were presumably titles or headings.

The subject of i 1–24 is clear: the different treatment to be accorded to friends, according to the ease or acerbity of their temper. The point is illustrated with a pleasing apologue (which I have failed to parallel elsewhere) about a shopkeeper and the handling of his wares. The moralist (ἀξιῶ 12) addresses himself to a singular audience (ὦ ἑταῖρε 13).

We might guess that the whole work consisted of ethical προβλήματα, set out at length in the headings and then resolved by the moralist in discussion. Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* follow the same sort of pattern for the miscellaneous topics treated.

Col. i

↓   ογε....[......].τοτ[]..
    τε ουτως[......].αι τοῦ
    χείρον[ος κερά]μου καὶ
    ἀτειμο[τ]έρου ἀπεκρεί-
5   νατο ὁ κάπηλος ὅτι ἔφηι
    [τ]ῶν μὲν ο[ἰ]νηρῶν κε-
    ραμίων καὶ εἰ πλείωι cυν-
    τρειβείη μεικρὰ βλάβηι
    ἐcτί· τῶν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ταρεί-
10 χου κἂν ἓν μόνον cυντρει-
    βῆι ἀπὸ τῆς δυcωδίας ἀ-
    πολούμεθα· ἀξιῶ τοίνυν
    καὶ cέ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, παραπλη-
    cίως μεταχειρίζεcθαι τοὺς
15 cυνήθεις τοὺς cοὺς ὥсπερ
    ὁ κάπηλος τὸν κέραμον,
    καὶ τοῖc δυcτρόποιc αὐτῶν
    εὐλαβέcτερον ἢ τοῖc ἐπι-
    εικέcι χρῆcθαι· οἱ μὲν
20 γὰρ ἐπιεικεῖc καὶ ἀμε-
    λούμενοι πρᾴωc ἔχουcιν
    ἄγαν καὶ βορβόρου κεκει-
    νημένου διαφέρουcιν
    οὐδέν.
25   π.[......]τοπαθειν
       [   ]..ο..ετε
       [

Col. ii

1   ..[
     cτ[
     cτ.[
     τρ[
5   ο.[
     γ.[
     τ[
     ε.[
     [
10   [
     [
     [
     λυ[
     αε[
15   τη[
     λα[
     εν[
     δι.[
     αλλ[
20   αυτ[
     .]..[

i 1 ....[: upright; upright with cross-bar at middle height: indeterminate trace; upright
followed by low point   ]. : high curved top as of ε   ].. : upright and cross-bar, γ or π?; back and top
of round letter   2]. : long horizontal joining top of α   5 l. ἔφη   7 l. πλείω   8 l.
cυντριβείη, μικρά, βλάβη   10 l. cυντριβῆι   25 π.[: high curved top and trace of cross-bar,
as of ε or ρ   26].. : shaft and top (τ γ π ?); shaft and top (τ γ π ?)

'... (when a neighbour asked him why he took such care in handling) the inferior and cheaper
jars, the shopkeeper replied: "Because", he said, "even if quite a number of the wine jars were smashed,
there isn't much damage done; but if even one of the jars of pickled fish gets smashed, we shall die

of the stench!'' So I must ask you too, friend, to handle your acquaintances in much the same way that the shopkeeper handles the jars, and to treat the difficult ones more carefully than the amiable ones. The amiable ones take it easily, even if they are neglected, ⟨whereas the difficult ones . . . rage⟩ terribly and exactly resemble stirred-up mud.'

Col. i 1–2 Supplement e.g. ὡς δὲ] ὁ γείτων [αὐτὸν ἤρ]ϵτο τ[ί] πο|τε οὕτως[. . . . . .].αι. We need a verb in line 2: at the beginning οὕτως[or οὕτω ϲ[(given the general standard of orthography, οὕτως would not necessarily entail a following vowel); at the end probably]ται (the trace does not suit]ϲαι). E.g. [ἐπιμέλε]ται.

21–2 Prof. E. G. Turner suggests that the scribe has omitted a clause: we need something to balance οἱ μέν, and in any case the muddy image hardly flatters the amiable friends. E.g. ⟨οἱ δὲ δύσκολοι . . . ἀγνωμόνως ἔχουϲιν⟩ ἄγαν κτλ.

25 πϵ[ρί or πρ[ός would suit the trace. At the end,] τὸ παθεῖν or]το παθεῖν; or even πρω]τοπαθεῖν (the use of this verb extends beyond the medical writers cited in LSJ: see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.).

3008. Prose about Dualism

Plate VI
19 2B.76/F (6–7) b   8 × 16·6 cm.   Third century

The lower part of a column, with a margin of 5·5 cm. at the foot. The hand is a fine mature Severe Style; the scribe writes occasional middle stops, and in 2 a suprascript bar for ν. The back is blank.

The author is clearly combating a view which supposes a δυάς in respect of each ϲῶμα; and argues that, since the terms of each dyad cannot be distinguished by sense-perception, they cannot be distinguished at all. Such a dyad (15 ff.) is αὐτὸϲ Πλάτων and ἡ Πλάτωνοϲ οὐϲία. It may be that the view attacked regarded both these as ϲώματα (but this depends on the reading and interpretation of line 7).

This is a peculiar doctrine. I had at first taken the piece to be a direct assault on the notion of οὐϲία: what is the point in distinguishing Plato from Plato's οὐϲία, when the senses see only the one body with its set of outward qualities? But if both parts of the dyad are ϲώματα, something more subtle is implied. Prof. A. H. Armstrong has been kind enough to give his view. He thinks that the author is attacking a doctrine (Stoic or Stoic-influenced) according to which the 'substance' of an individual body is itself a distinct bodily entity; but he finds no closer parallel than the position maintained by Tertullian (*de Anima* 9) that the soul is a corporeal substance as well as the body, and accordingly has shape and dimensions.

Even the larger context is hard to discern. The only clue is the use of Πλάτων as an exemplary name, 'someone'. The Aristotelian commentators use it so; but (in Alexander of Aphrodisias at least) almost always paired with Socrates. Sextus Empiricus has 'Plato' alone, and very commonly. But our text comes from no extant work of Sextus.[1]

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[1] Since this was written, Mr. David Hughes has transcribed what is quite probably another fragment of the same work. The author says, in outline: 'Philosophers agree about nothing—one of them even says that silver is black. You can hear more uproar from a houseful of philosophers than from a houseful of madmen.' The tone is clearly satirical. If **3008** comes from the same hand, we need not expect any great subtleties of doctrine.

→ ......].[].....αμ.....[.].[.

caιδειναι τῆc περὶ ἕκαcτο(ν)
λεγομένηc τῶν cωμάτων
δυάδοc ἀδιάγνωcτον αἰcθή-
5 cει τὴν δ[ι]αφορὰν ἐχούcηc·
εἰ γὰρ cῶμα μὲν ἰδίωc ποι-
ὸν οἶον Πλάτων cωμα...
οὐcία τοῦ Πλάτωνοc, διαφορὰ
δὲ φαινομένη τούτων οὐκ ἔ-
10 cτιν οὔτε cχήματοc οὔτε
χρώματοc οὔτε μεγέθουc οὔ⟨τε⟩
μορφῆc ἀλλὰ καὶ βάροc ἴcον
καὶ τ[ύ]ποc ὁ αὐτὸc ἀμφοτέ-
ρων, τίνι διαιροῦντεc ὅρῳ
15 κ[αὶ] χαρακτῆρι νῦν μὲν
φήcομεν αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνοc
νῦν δὲ τῆc οὐcίαc ἀντιλαμ-
βάνεcθαι τῆc Πλάτωνοc;
εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐcτίν τιc διαφο-
20 ρά, λεγέcθω μετὰ ἀποδεί-
ξεω]c· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ λέγειν

1].[: low point, then foot of oblique joining vertical (ν ?)]....: oblique foot as of λ; foot of vertical; lower arc as of o; descender as of τ ..[.]: oblique foot; long descender as of ρ].[: long descender as of ρ 2 εκαcτο̄ 6 ιδιωc 12 ϊcον 15 νυν μεν· 18 πλατωνοc· 21 space (punctuation) before ει

'... of the dyad which is mentioned in connection with each of the bodies, a dyad which possesses a differentiation indiscernible by the senses. For if a body is properly something like (?) Plato, but the essence of Plato is a body (?), and there is no apparent difference between them either in form or in colour or in size or in shape, indeed the weight is equal and the outline the same in both, by what definition and characteristic shall we distinguish and say that we are apprehending now Plato himself, now the essence of Plato? If there is some means of differentiation, let it be stated together with a proof! If on the other hand (it is not possible) even to state it...'

7 The reading at the end of the line causes great difficulty. Given the contrast drawn in 15–18, we might expect Πλάτων and Πλάτωνοc οὐcία to be opposed to one another: cῶμα μὲν ought then to be answered by cῶμα δέ. But the reading cῶμα δ᾽ ἤ is impossible: δ would be anomalous, and a horizontal connecting with the putative η remains unexplained. Palaeographically, the first trace might be a lop-sided o; then a long horizontal with perhaps a trace of vertical projecting just above it; then a vertical. This all suggests ὅτι. But what is the sense? 'If a body has particular qualities, as Plato is a body, because it is the essence of Plato...'? And what then is the antecedent of τούτων in line 9?

3009. *Epistula Philippi* (DEMOSTHENES XVIII 221)

The top of one column from a bookroll; the back is blank. The hand is a heavy four-square one, ornamented with oblique and horizontal serifs; α has a horizontal cross-bar, β comes well below the line, φ is very large. The general appearance recalls, e.g., PSI 1213 (Eupolis *Prospaltioi*); compare other examples of 'Roman Uncial' discussed by Cavallo, *Ann. Scuol. Norm. Sup. di Pisa*, 1967, pp. 209 ff. A date in the second century seems likely.

Demosthenes, in *de Corona* § 221, instructs the court clerk to read out 'letters of Philip' (letters, that is, which Philip had sent to the Peloponnese, see § 218). In the manuscripts there follows a note *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ*, but the texts are not quoted.

In 1942 Larsen published a much-damaged piece from a roll of *de Corona* (PHaun. 5). This inserts between § 221 and § 222 complete copies of two letters: one (col. iv 11 ff.) to the *boule* and *demos* of Athens; the other (iv 32–v 15) to the *strategoi* and . . . . . of Boeotia.

3009 contains the text of a letter, no doubt from Philip, to the *demiourgoi* and *synedroi* of the Peloponnesians. The wording after the prescript is apparently identical with that of the Boeotian letter in PHaun. This is a fact of some interest for the textual history of the Demosthenic 'documents'. **1377** shows that one such document (the letter to the Thebans, § 167) was already in the text in the late first century B.C. PHaun. 5 shows that some texts included documents which the medieval MSS. do not preserve. **3009** now shows that such documents might exist in variant forms: the Boeotian and the Peloponnesian versions differ only in minor details; they can hardly have been designed for different places in the speech, for only here is the raising of troops relevant. Either then they were to coexist after § 221, in which case PHaun. 5 has omitted the Peloponnesian version; or they are alternatives. It is certainly true that in the context of § 218 Peloponnesians have an expected place, and Boeotians have not. Perhaps different recensions of the forgeries circulated, just as different selections from them appeared in different texts of the speech (PAnt. 27, introduction).

PHaun. 5 is in poor condition; more of it can now be read with the help of **3009**. A photograph of col. iv appears in PHaun. as plate 1; Prof. T. Larsen has been kind enough to send me a photograph of col. v, and to check some points on the original.

→   πονvησι[ων τοιc δη

    μιουργοι[c] κ̣α̣ι̣ [τοιc

    cυνεδροι[c] χα̣[ιρειν

    και πρ[ο]τε[ρ]ον [.]..[

5   ε]γραψα π[ε]ρ̣ι......

    τ̣ιωτων οπω̣..[...].

    ξ...[.].ν̣.τ̣...[...

    τ̣αχιcτην και νυ̣[ν υ

    μιν περι των αυτω̣ν

10   επεcτειλα γραψω

    δε κα[ι] προc Μεccη

    νιουc ϋπερ των επι

    κηρυκειων και των

    αλλων των κοινηι

15   cυμφεροντων η

    νικ αν προcδεξω

    μαι τας παρα των *Α*

    θηναιων αποκρι

    cειc βουλομαι [γ]α̣ρ και

20   την εκεινω[ν γν]ω

    μη̣ν προcλ[αβει]ν̣

       . . . .

7 ξ...: possibly a narrow upright letter before this; after ξ perhaps an upright (ι), or traces may be part of ξ, then ο or possibly c; c or ο   ].: upright   ν̣: left-hand arc, as of c?   τ̣..: first upright, then oblique apex as of α   8 νυ̣[: of υ only the left prong

'. . . to the demiurgi and synedri of the Peloponnesians, greetings. I have written . . . before about the soldiers, so that . . . fastest . . .; and now I have sent you a message about the same matters. And I shall write to the Messenians too about the peace negotiations and the other matters of common interest, once I receive the replies of the Athenians. For I want to have their opinion too . . .'

1–3 Cf. 'Dem.' 18. 157 βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. The beginning of the prescript (as far as πελο) will have occupied the last two lines of the preceding column.

4 πρ[ο]τε[ρ]ον: προτεραν PHaun. For what follows ὑμῖν is an obvious guess, but not one particularly suited to the traces of PHaun. (3009 has only indeterminate remains of ink.)

5 f. π[ε]ρ̣ι......τ̣ιωτων:]ριπων cτρατηγο[in the printed text of PHaun. This points to a combined text περὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Palaeographically, π[ε]ρ̣ι τω̣ν̣..ρ̣α̣τ̣ι̣ωτων is acceptable in 3009; ςτ can be read only on the supposition that some of the ink is stray. In PHaun., Prof. Larsen still considers cτρατη- more likely than cτρατι- and so certainly it looks in the photograph.

6–8 Presumably ὅπως ἄν - - - τὴν ταχίστην. In 7 the traces allow e.g. ἐ]|ξ ἴς̣ο̣υ̣[τ]ὴ̣ν̣ ς̣τ̣ρ̣α̣τ̣-. But this

will not provide a verb. (And]ται seems not to be a possible reading of]˙ν.) Alternatively we might look for a noun in -ξις.

8 και νυ[ν υ]μιν: I should expect και νῦν δέ. But this would make a long line; and PHaun. seems to have και νυν υ[

12 f. επικηρυκειων: υπο- PHaun., not an attested word and presumably simple error.

15 ff. PHaun. has η]νικ αν δε | δεξομαι, where -ομαι is corrupt for -ωμαι, and δέ spoils the grammar (perhaps therefore a dittography).

20 f. PHaun. is read και τὴν ἐκείνω[ν .]...κλαβειν γνωμην. The photograph would allow εκεινω[ν] προςλαβειν, to accord with προςλ[....]ν of 3009.

A very tentative reconstruction of the text PHaun. 5 iv 35 ff.:

και προτεραν .[... εγραψα πε]³⁶ρι των στρατιω[των c. 10] (col. v 1) ..[...]..[c. 18] ² και νυν υ[μιν περι των αυ] ³ [των επεστειλα γρα]ψω δε [και π]ρος ⁴ Μεςςηνι[ους υπερ τ]ων υποκηρυ⁵κειων κ[αι των α]λλων των κο[ι]⁶νη ςυμφε[ροντων] ηνικ αν {δε} ⁷ δεξομαι .[.... π]αρα των Αθηναι⁸ων αποκρις[εις βουλ]ομαι γαρ ⁹ και την εκεινω[ν] προςλαβειν ¹⁰ γνωμην [ι]να κοι[νω] δογματ[ι] την ειρηνην μ..[...].ων ποιωμαι προς τας αλλας πολεις καθως αι ςυνθηκαι ...[.].ουςιν.

3010. NARRATIVE ABOUT IOLAUS

This curious piece consists of a single block of writing, complete on three sides but damaged at the right. The beginning and end of the text are written in double column; the middle, lines 14–33, makes a single column running the full width of the sheet. The back is blank.

The writing is a careful round book-hand, of the type of the great London *Hyperides* (Roberts, *GLH* 13b) but plentifully ornamented with horizontal serifs. Compare e.g. **2441, 2469** and introduction. It is likely to belong to the earlier second century.

There is no punctuation, except paragraphi; the quotation in 39 ff. is set off by a short blank. Final *nu* is twice written as a horizontal bar (3, 7). Line 2 ends with a space-filler.

The strange format is dictated by the content. Lines 1–13 are narrative, set out in two columns which read consecutively. 14–33 contain a speech in verse, whose long lines need more width. In 34 the narrative begins again in narrow column. The sense shows that at least one complete column has been lost to the left.

The bare outline of the narrative is clear. Some person, X, is being initiated into the mysteries of Cybele (1–9), and perfects himself in them in reliance on his friend Nicon (37–9). X then addresses Iolaus and a *cinaedus* (14); this speech is (appropriately) in the Sotadean metre. X says that he has become a *gallus* in order to help Iolaus; he knows everything; Iolaus must trust him (31). And Iolaus accordingly undergoes instruction from him (34–6).

The *galli* are normally figures of fun: we should not expect this to be a dignified composition. And in fact the speech exhibits notable vulgarisms of language: εὐγενῆ

(14) and κρύβε (31) are unliterary, βινεῖν (30) coarse, the scansion (᾽Ι)ŏλᾱέ unparalleled. The narrative parts, so far as they survive, are unexceptionable; the remarkable feature is the unmediated quotation in 39 ff. These oddities, and the detailed interpretation of the text, are discussed in *BICS* 18 (1971), pp. 53 ff.[1] It is there suggested that **3010** represents a tradition of Greek comic novel, on which Petronius drew for the *Satyricon.*

[1] Professor E. R. Dodds has since suggested a most ingenious and convincing reconstruction of the plot. He writes: 'According to me, the keyword is δόλῳ βεινεῖν (30), contrasted with ἄδολον (26). The story concerned a young man called Iolaus who tried to gain access to his beloved by pretending to be an eunuch. For this purpose he induced his friend X to study under a *gallus* (1) and transmit to him the mystic knowledge so acquired (3, read δι᾽ ὧν?), lest he should fall foul of a fellow *mystes* (4) by getting the technicalities wrong. In the sotadeans X reports to Iolaus some specimens of the jargon he has learned (hence the odd mixture of religious and vulgar language). This would account for some puzzling words. τὴν cυνήθεια[ν (20) would be 'their way of talking'. νεκ[ρὸ]ν ἄταφο[ν (21) would be a sardonic description of a real *gallus*, 'a walking corpse'. τὸν νόθον (22) would not be an illegitimate but a sham *gallus* (cf. Catullus 63. 27 *notha mulier*). And Iolaus' father would have something to lament (25)—his son's becoming a *kinaidos.* Finally, the *double entendre* of τέλειος γάλλος (37) would have a much sharper point.' This reconstruction finds further support in Terence's *Eunuchus,* where Chaerea adopts much the same stratagem.

→ ...ρ..ωνυποτουγαλ   φορειν[

λουονομαζομενων⟩   νονκληρω[

μανθανειδιονδιδασκῑ   χησδ..λ.ρ[10

εμελλενιψαμητεπαρα   επηλθεπρο.[

5 πεςητωςυμμυςτητε   κα.κατατυχ.[

λεςθεντιδεπολλαχως   αυτ.νευρω.[13

7 καιδιδαχθεντιθηλυκῃ

14 ευγενηιολαε.αιρεκαικιψαιδεςιωπη

μυςτικοςλογ..[]..........ιςπαρ[[α]]ηγορη[

γαλλοςγεγον[..........]...λα.δια...

νεικωνμαν[..........]αδιαςεναπο.[

ιναγαλλονεχ.[..........]νειδοταπαντα[

οιδαδεςυτιςι.[..........]πανταδοιδ.

20 τηνςυνηθεια[..........]ηντονορκο.[

νε.[..]ναταφ.[..........]πειςτινοςπ[

τοιννοθοιννο.[..........]νπανγεγου[

ζμειλεινθεμ[..........]ολυγμονκα.[

οικιαντεςηνμ[..]ερακο..ωναςονοιδα[

25 θρηνουςπατροςθηρυκλειανοτιςυνοιδ[

νεικωναδολονκιναιδον.αιταγενες[

].ιδακλης ινκαικ.ναιδονςκω[

].ωςπεπαιχε..ωςπεφευγ.[

]αναλυςινφαςινκαποκοπη.[

30]οτιδολωςυβεινεινμ.λλει.[

]ωςτεμηδεενμεκρυβεπι..[

]καιτοςονθελωιολαε......[

]γνωςηδοχρονοςγαρμε[.]ος[

]καιομενιολαοςυπο.   .[

35].ουμυςτικουδιδαςκε   κ[45

].αιοςαπερμεμαθωκι   μ[

.]δετελειοςεςτινγαλλος   .[

.]ωφιλωπεποιθωςνει   μ[

.]ωνι ουκεςτινουδεν   και[

40 .]..[.]ςονηφι...ςςαφη.   ρα.[50

...].ουτοςο[...]εχρ[[

....]ςτονδ.[. . . .

...].ταλλαγμ[

1 πορρήτων ὑπὸ τοῦ γάλ-
  λου ὀνομαζομένων
  μανθάνει δι᾽ ὃν διδάcκι(ν)
  ἔμελλεν ἵνα μήτε παρα-
5 πέcῃ τῷ cυμμύcτῃ, τε-
  λεcθέντι δὲ πολλαχῶc
  καὶ διδαχθέντι θηλυκὴ(ν)

φορεῖν [8
νον κληρω[
χηc δεπληρ[10
ἐπῆλθε προ.[
καὶ κατὰ τύχη[ν
αὐτὸν ευρω.[13

14 εὐγενῆ Ἰόλαε χαῖρε καὶ κίναιδε cιωπη·
  μυcτικὸc λογο.[].. cτικοιc παρηγορη[
  γάλλοc γεγον[..........]. Ἰόλαε δια...
  Νείκων μαν[   ]αδιαcεναπο.[
  ἵνα γάλλον ἔχῃ[   ]νειδότα πάντα
  οἶδα δὲ cὺ τίcι.[   ]πάντα δ᾽ οἶδα
20 τὴν cυνήθεια[ν ....]ην τὸν ὅρκον
  νε.[..]ναταφο[   ]πειc τινοc π[
  τὸν νόθον νο.[   ]ν πᾶν γεγον[
  †ζμειλειν θεμ[ὀλ]ολυγμὸν κα.[
  οἰκίαν τε cὴν μ[ητ]έρα κοιτῶνα cὸν οἶδα
25 θρήνουc πατρὸc †θηρυκλειαν ὅτι cυνοιδ[
  Νείκωναδολον κίναιδον καὶ τὰ γενεc[
  οἶδα κλῆcιν καὶ κίναιδον cκω[
  πῶc πέπαιχεν πῶc πέφευγε[
  ἀνάλυcιν φάcιν καποκοπη.[
30 ὅτι δόλῳ cὺ βεινεῖν μέλλειc [
  ὥcτε μηδὲ ἕν με κρύβε πιcτ[
  καὶ τοcον θέλω Ἰόλαε ιc....[
  γνώcῃ δ᾽· ὁ χρόνοc γὰρ με[.]οc[
  καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰόλαοc ὑπὸ   ο[υ φίλου
35 τοῦ μυcτικοῦ διδάcκε-   κ[45
  ται ὅcαπερ †μεμαθώκι,   μ[
  ὁ] δὲ τέλειόc ἐcτιν γάλλοc,   .[
  τ]ῷ φίλῳ πεποιθὼc Νεί-   μ[
  κ]ωνι· οὐκ ἔcτιν οὐδὲν   και[
40 κ]ρε[ῖc]cον ἢ φίλοc cαφήc,   ραδ[50
  οὐ π]λοῦτοc ο[ὐδ]ὲ χρ[υcόc·   .   .   .   .
  ἀλόγι]cτον δέ [τι τὸ πλῆ-
  θοc ἀ]ντάλλαγμ[α γενναί-

1 ...ρ: foot with serif, foot with right hook; lower arc of θ or o; foot below line-level   ..ω: foot with serif, foot with serif; foot with serif below horizontal at line-height   10 δ..: ε or θ; foot with serif, foot with right hook   λ.: foot with serif, foot curving to the right   11 .[: back of ε θ o c ω   12 κα.: upright   .[: serifed upright   13 τ.: low point of ink, high point of ink   .[upright   14 .ạ: λ or χ   15 ..[: top curve of ε θ o c; tip of upright   ].........: top of upright; high point; top of small curve (ρ?); left end of high horizontal; top curve as of ε or c; high horizontal with medial junction (as of τ), end joins another upright?; left end of high horizontal; high oblique, as of κ; top curve of ε θ o c   16].,: foot with serif; lower curve of θ or o   .δ: lower curve of ε θ o c   δια,,.: ε or c; ε or θ; high point   17 .[: high point   18 .[: serifed upright   19 .[: low oblique as of λ   δ.: oblique top (α δ λ)   20 .[: serifed upright   21 .[: serifed upright   .[: back curve of ε θ o c   22 .[: ε or θ   23 .[: high-point   24 κọ..: foot with serif; foot with serif   26 .αι: high oblique as of κ   27].: part of right hand curve   κ.: high point   28]. foot with serif, foot with right hook   ε,.: low point; right angle as of γ or π   .[: back curve of ε θ o c   30 μ.: tips of middle and high horizontals   .[: back curve of ε θ o c ω   31 ..[: o or c; upright with serifed foot   32 ε.....: upright with serifed foot; foot curving strongly to right; serifed upright with high horizontal (π or τ); curving foot or lower curve? serifed foot? trace of upright or curve; oblique foot as of λ or part of curve   34 o.: probably a space-filler as in 2   35].: high horizontal   36].: right end of cross-bar, as of τ.   40 φι..: top of δ or λ; upper curve of ε θ o c   41].: sloping back as of α λ μ   42 .[: back curve of ε θ o c 43].: parts of upright   44 .[: back curve of ε θ o c ω   47 .[: lower curve of ε θ o c ω 50 .[: apparently the left half of δ, with the apex continued into a closed loop

'... secrets being named (what were called 'secrets'?) by the *gallus* ... he learns, through whom he was going to teach, so that he should neither fail (?) his fellow initiate but, once he had been initiated in many ways and taught to wear female (garb), ... there should be allotted to him (?) ... And being full of teaching, he came to Iolaus, and finding him by chance ..., said:

"Noble Iolaus, greetings; and you, *cinaedus*, silence! I, the mystic, will exhort (you) in ... words (?). I have become a *gallus* ..., Iolaus, for your sake; Nicon (taught me?) ..., so that you might have a gallus (to help you?) who knows all. I know who (what?) you ... I know all, the custom (love-affair?) ... the oath, the unburied corpse (?) .. the bastard ... all ... the cry of the women ... and your house, mother, your bedroom; I know the laments of the father, Eurycleia (?) (and) that she is aware (?) ... *cinaedus*, and the birthday (?) ... I know the call (invocation, invitation) and the *cinaedus* jesting (?) ... how he joked how he fled ... resolution, utterance, cutting off... that you are going to screw by stealth ... so conceal nothing from me ... and I want, Iolaus, your (?) ... And you will realize, for time intervening ..."

And Iolaus is taught by the mystic all the things he had learned, and he (the mystic) is a perfect *gallus*, having trusted in his friend Nicon. "There is nothing better than a clear friend—not wealth nor gold; the mob is an inconsiderable substitute for a true-hearted friend ..."'

1 πορρητων: ρητων is virtually certain, the rest very likely. Restore ἀ]|πορρήτων: mystic 'secrets' suit the context.

3 δι' ὅν: the reading of the letters is certain; and other possible articulations (μάνθανε ἴδιον, μανθάνει δῖον) seem to have no future. δι' ὅν διδάcκι(ν) ἔμελλεν should mean 'the man through whom he (himself) would come to teach', i.e. his teacher; this fits the context, in so far that the subject undergoes instruction here (7, 10) and gives it later (35 f.). ὅν might refer to a noun earlier in the sentence; or μανθάνει might govern it directly.

4 f. παραπέcῃ: the verb can mean 'go astray', 'err': π. τῇ διανοίᾳ (Vett. Val. p. 73. 25 Kroll), πολύ τι παρέπεcε τοῦ καθήκοντος (Polyb. 8. 11 (13). 8) ; in Christian authors it is a technical term for 'fall into sin' or 'lapse'. All examples I have seen use the verb absolutely; or construct it with a dative of that in which one errs, or a genitive of that from which one strays. Here apparently a personal dative. Is the meaning 'fail' or 'fall behind'?

5 ff. On the assumption that 8–13 were of about the same length as the lines of the first column, i.e. 15 to 19 letters, the general sense might be reconstructed thus: τελεcθέντι δὲ πολλαχῶc καὶ διδαχθέντι θηλυκὴ(ν) φορεῖν [ἐcθῆτα ......]νον κληρω[θῇ ....· διδα]χῆc δὲ πλήρ[ηc γεγονὼc] ἐπῆλθε πρὸ̀ς [τὸν 'Ιόλαον] ̇καὶ κατὰ τύχη[ν ....] αὐτὸν εὑρὼ̣ν [........

7 f. Female dress is a familiar trait of the *galli*: H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* 298. Supplement e.g. [ἐcθῆτα or [cτολὴν.

9 E.g. κληρω[θῇ, to govern the datives in 5–7. But I have no idea what is supposed to fall to the lot of the full initiate.

9–10 διδα]χῆc suits the context; then δὲ πλήρ[ηc, δὲ πληρ[ωθείc; or δ' ἐπληρ[ώθη.

12 κατὰ τύχη[ν: the final trace is of an upright, serifed at head and foot (not e.g. κατατυχώ[ν).

13 αὐτὸν εὑρών [is likely. (Correct the statement in *BICS* 1971 p. 56: single points of ink remain from the top and left arcs of omicron.) At the end restore a verb to introduce the speech which follows.

14–33 The metre is Sotadean. The basic scheme:

$$- \cup \underset{\times}{\cup} \underset{}{\cup} \quad - \cup \underset{\times}{\cup} \underset{}{\cup} \quad - \cup \underset{\times}{\cup} \underset{}{\cup} \quad - -$$

A *longum* may be resolved; the *brevia* may be contracted. (The book fragments are analysed by F. Podhorsky, *De Versu Sotadeo*, Diss. Vind. 1895; Guéraud, *BSAA* 31 (1937) 180 ff. discusses two important later inscriptions. There is a summary of results in W. J. W. Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque* 207–9.)

All lines which are certainly read conform to this scheme; none requires the additional licence of an 'irrational long' (– – ∪ – for – ∪ – ∪, – – – ∪ for – – ∪ ∪). Lines 14 and 32 are not exceptions: scan 'Ιόλαε as three syllables with initial consonant, and cιωπη as a spondee. Line 25 is probably corrupt; in 16 and 17 the ends are uncertain.

14 εὐγενῆ: the late form of the vocative, known from papyrus documents: e.g. **2407** 3 εὐγενῆ (proceedings of public meeting, late third century). It is common in proper names, see Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 87 ff.

'Ιόλαε: both here and in 32 we can save the metre and remove the hiatus by assuming the prosody ϳόλαε. But this is itself anomalous. For c(ι)ωπη there are parallels in the documents: spellings in which prevocalic iota within a word drops out are found occasionally in the Ptolemaic period (Mayser–Schmoll 126) and more commonly in the Roman period. But for the reduction of initial iota I find only fourth-century evidence: (1) Synesius has 'Ιηcοῦc as a spondee, and other Semitic names are treated similarly by other Christian writers; (2) οὗτὸc ἰῶτα γράφει begins a hexameter in Terentianus Maurus (*Gr. Lat.* vi 340. 501 ff.; similarly Ausonius, *Tech.* 13. 7). And in these the second vowel is long.

κίναιδε: cf. 26–7. Cinaedi existed as professional dancers (**2575** 3–4 note); Pliny, *Ep.* 9. 17. 1 joins *scurrae, cinaedi, moriones*. But the name is often interchangeable with *galli*: e.g. Suet. *Oct.* 68, Martial 9. 2. 13, Apul. *Met.* 8. 26 ff.

cιωπη: nominative or dative; the η is certain, though its cross-bar is damaged; and there is no ink after it. I have no parallel for the grammar, if it means 'silence!' But the sense is suitable: the *cinaedus* is to observe εὐφημία for the mystic utterance which follows. Alternatively, we could attach cιωπη to the next line. But there is no obvious gain.

The prosody is c(ι)ωπη, not cγωπη; the preceding vowel is not lengthened. A vulgarism (see above on 'Ιόλαε), not an imitation of Callimachus or his models (fr. 191. 31 and Pfeiffer's note).

15 I assume that παρηγορη[is a word by itself; to judge from the metre it lacks either one or three syllables at the end; since the line is already a long one, the former is much more likely. The outline then is:

$$- \ \cup - \cup \quad - \underset{}{\cup} \underset{}{\cup} \cup - \quad \cup - \cup - \ -$$

μυcτικοc λογ..[] ....ιc παρηγορη[.

The rest depends on the reading before παρηγορη[. ϲιc, θιc, ϙιc and ϲιc are all possible; before that what looks most like the top right tip of κ, or just possibly υ (it is not steep enough for χ). The most likely combination with the traces preceding, given that the metre requires an iambus, is perhaps -ϲτικοιc. (The trace after τ is a ligature, as in 7 -θεντι.)

λογ is nearly certain. Then the top of a circular letter, i.e. in the context ε or ο. λογος suggests itself, but the short high trace doesn't favour c; the spacing is against λόγου; λόγον, λόγοι, λόγοι[c all possible.

We might combine possibilities, as e.g.

$$\overset{\cup \ -}{}$$

μυcτικὸc λόγοι[c] ...ϲτικοῖc παρηγορή[cω.

I have not found a reading for the letters before -ϲτικοιϲ, though the traces are substantial enough to check a guess: possibly λόγοι[ϲ]ι μυϲτικοῖϲ. παρηγορη[- allows a wide range of tenses, moods, and persons.

16–23 A rectangular piece of papyrus is lost from the middle of these lines: the gap is of *c.* 10 letters, 4 to 6 syllables.

16 γεγον[: -[α, -[εν, -[ωϲ. At the end, perhaps 'Ιόλαε διὰ ϲέ. 'I (or 'he', if the speaker affects the third person) have become a *gallus* for your sake, Iolaus.' But the single trace following might belong to a projecting cross-bar of ε; and after that the papyrus seems to be blank. If then this is the line-end,
◡ ◡ ◡
διὰ ϲέ is most unwelcome.

17 Νείκων μαν[: I assume that Nicon here and in 26 is a proper name, as in 38; though ν(ε)ικῶν is equally possible in itself. Nicon made the speaker a perfect *gallus* (37–9), in which capacity he instructs Iolaus. Here perhaps Νείκων μ' αν[- - - ¹⁸ ἵνα γάλλον ἔχη[ϲ ◡ ◡ ◡ –]]νειδότα πάντα

]αδιαϲεναπο.[: I can think of no convincing articulation. διὰ ϲέν introduces a vulgar form of the pronoun, known from documentary papyri of the second century and later.

19   – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – –
        οἶδα δὲ ϲὺ τίϲι.[   ] πάντα δ' οἶδα.
ϲὺ seems inescapable; presumably it stands outside an interrogative clause to which it belongs. Then τιϲ ι.[or τίϲι.[; the final trace is most like λ (δ would show more of its base-stroke).

20   – ◡ – – – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ – –
       τὴν ϲυνήθεια[ν   ]ην τὸν ὅρκον. Mr. Peter Brown points to an instructive parallel, Men. *Samia* 624 f. ὅρκοϲ, πόθοϲ, | χρόνοϲ, ϲυνήθει', οἷϲ ἐδουλούμην ἐγώ. This commends the meaning 'love-affair' for ϲυνήθεια here.

21 νε.[: νει[is the obvious interpretation of the remains (Νεί[κω]ν, Νεί[κω]να, etc.). But I think νεκ[possible: νεκ[ρὸ]ν ἄταφο[ν?

]πειϲ: plural of]πευϲ? or a verb? or]π' εἰϲ? If νεκ[ρὸ]ν ἄταφο[ν is right at the beginning, the line will be a long one: end π[◡ – –

22 Perhaps – ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ –   ◡ ◡ – –
          τὸν νόθον νο.[   ]πᾶν γεγον[
νο.[: either νοε[or νοθ[again.

23 ζμειλειν: I cannot read any other letters. Mr. C. H. Roberts and Prof. R. Merkelbach have
                                   ◡ ◡ – – –
suggested that this is a corruption of ϲμίλην. At the end probably κα.[

24 τε ϲὴν: rather than τόϲην, unless the vestigial cross-bar of ε is delusory. The line is disjointed, though metrically perfect. But μ[ητ]έρα is the only doubtful part, and I don't see how to avoid the supplement.

25 θηρυκλειαν: this might be a mispelling of θηρικλείαν. But Mr. M. D. Reeve and Dr. M. L. West have suggested that the corruption is more serious: the writer intended Εὐρύκλειαν. This emendation has two advantages: (1) θρήνουϲ πατρὸϲ will scan – – ◡ ◡, a normal metron; the form – – ◡ –, with 'irrational' long, does not occur elsewhere in the piece; (2) the name might provide a subject for ϲυνοιδ[.
   At the end [◡ – –.

26 Multiple ambiguities. Νείκων(-) or νεικῶν (see on 17); Νείκων ἄδολον, Νείκων' ἄδολον, Νείκωνα
                          – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – – –
δόλον. End perhaps καὶ τὰ γενέϲ[ι'   .

27 End ϲκω[◡ ◡ ◡ – –. ϲκώπτειν seems the most likely connection.

28 End [– ◡ ◡ ◡ – –.

29 End [◡ ◡ ◡ – –. A verb here must govern 30: οἶδα? The final trace looks like μ[; but the noun ἀποκόπημα is not attested (the verb ἀποκοπέομαι once in Hesychius), and ἀποκοπή or -ῆ fits awkwardly in the list of accusatives. Perhaps ἀποκοπή[[μ]]ν [can be read.

30 End [– ◡ ◡ ◡ – –.

31 Either μηδὲ ἔν scans as a spondee; or κρύβε scans as a trochee; or ἔν με κρύβε πιϲτ[makes – ◡ ◡ ◡ – with 'irrational' long.

32 τοϲον: τὸ ϲόν rather than τόϲον. After 'Ιόλαε apparently ιϲ (if the two elements belonged together in η or π, one would expect the cross-bar to show). ιϲτορε[ιν consists with the traces, but the hiatus is odd.

33 Perhaps μέ[c]oc: 'you will realize it; for time intervening . . .' End: [– ⏑ ⏝ ⏑ – –.

36 μεμαθώκι: for ἐμεμαθήκει? The omitted augment is not surprising in late Greek. But μαθόω is nowhere attested.

37 ὁ] δὲ: the space allows only one letter. If the supplement is correct, Iolaus was taught by X (the speaker in 14 ff.); and X is a perfect *gallus*, thanks to his friend Nicon.

39–44 Euripides, *Or.* 1155–7, except that οὐδὲ χρυcóc (41) replaces οὐ τυραννίc of all MSS.

3011. NARRATIVE ABOUT AMENOPHIS

No inventory number 13 × 17·5 cm. Plate V
Third century

The front of this piece contains the upper part of a column of accounts, written in a rapid third-century cursive; the items include ναῦλ(ον) ξύλ(ων) cυκαμ(ίνων). The back has been reused, upside down, for **3011**: the lower part of a column, more or less complete, with a left margin of 2·2 cm. and a right margin of 4·5 cm. The hand of this verso text is an inept one of literary pretensions, written with a thick blunt pen; it has some likeness to Roberts, *GLH* 23b (A.D. 260–70). The scribe's clumsiness, together with rubbing and heavy stains at top and foot, make the reading often very dubious.

The greater part of what survives is a speech, addressed to the speaker's 'brother'. At line 21 the narrative resumes: 'And Amenophis, hearing this, rejoiced greatly.' This sounds like the end of an episode; to judge from the width of the right margin, it was also the end of the roll.

The name Amenophis is the only clue to the content of the piece (I assume that this is the name intended, however it may have been spelt, see 21 note). There are two obvious candidates. (1) Amenhotep son of Hapu: historically, a high official under Amenhotep III; by the Ptolemaic period he had divine status, and was credited with a book of wise sayings; as sage and prophet he appears in Manetho's Jewish story (below). See H.-W. Helck, *Einfluss d. Militärführer* 2–3; Manetho, ed. W. G. Waddell (Loeb), pp. 122 f. (2) King Amenophis is the monarch addressed in the Oracle of the Potter (*ZPE* 2 (1968) 208); a King Amenophis was identified with Memnon (Manetho fr. 52 Waddell, *FGH* 609 F 2 p. 38); a King Amenophis appears with the son of Hapu in the Jewish story. The one name could apply to three or more distinct historical kings; it is not clear whether the literary tradition bothered to distinguish.

The sage and the king figure together in Manetho's account of the Hyksos (fr. 54 Waddell, *FGH* 609 F 10). King Amenophis desired to see the gods. The wise prophet Amenophis son of Paapis advised him to purge his country of lepers and other unclean persons. The king accordingly transported them all to work in the quarries. The seer Amenophis feared divine vengeance for this outrage and committed suicide, leaving a written prophecy of disaster. The quarry-slaves were eventually assigned Avaris as a home. They chose a priest of Heliopolis, Osarseph, as leader. He promulgated a law forbidding them to worship in the Egyptian fashion. He invited in the

'Shepherds' from Jerusalem. King Amenophis crossed the Nile to oppose them; but, μὴ δεῖν θεομαχεῖν νομίcαc, retreated again to Memphis, and then with all his army to Ethiopia. Meanwhile the Jerusalemites ruled Egypt most savagely; and Osarseph changed his name to Moses. After thirteen years Amenophis returned and expelled the 'Shepherds'.

3011 might fit the retreat to Memphis. But the connection is tenuous. And nothing in the papyrus narrative proves translation or derivation from an Egyptian source. Egyptian romance did circulate in Greek translation: we have both Demotic and Greek texts for the story of Tefnut (S. West, *JEA* 55 (1969) 161 ff.); see further Barns, *Akten d. VIII. int. Kongr. f. Papyrologie (Wien* 1955) 29. But there was nothing to stop Greek writers constructing free fantasy around Egyptian figures: the story of Sesonchosis (**1826, 2466**) is perhaps an example.

```
              .    .      .      .
    ↓      ..]ουω[..].[..]......
           ..]..ο.τη..μεμφε[
           ..]αυτηδε εχει ημε[
           ..]ντ.ων πορον το
    5      δε] πλατος της οδου
           εc]τιν πηχων δυο
           το δε υδωρ εcτιν με-
           χρι των γονατων
           λ]οιπον ουν αδελφε
    10     ανδραγαθηcον επι-
           θου με και διαπερα-
           cον την θαλαc⟨c⟩αν
           παντα ευθεωc ελ-
           θ[].ν ωc αν coι λεγω
    15     ταυτη δε τη οδω ο με-
           γαc θεοc Ερμηc και
           η μυριωνυμοc θεα
           Ειcιν πλανωμενη
           ε..[]....[..]cη ζητου
    20     cα τον β[αcι]λεα των
           θεων .[...]. ο δε Αμε
           νν.φ... [τα]υτα ακου-
           cαc μεγαλ[ωc] εχαρη
```

1].[: upright below two patches of ink (e.g. τ, υ)   ]......: second is circular, then top of upright (e.g. ọι or ω); then c or perh. o; then ε or θ: then foot of upright (-ϛϛι?)   2]..: lower part of upright; then ε with high bar, or ρ with double serif   o.: left-hand arc (c?)   τη..: curved foot as of μ; then another foot   4]ντ.: ι or ρ   14]. short upright   19 ε..[: upright, then upright with top horizontal joining from left (together = π?)   ....[: third is top of upright; then left-hand arc (e.g. o, or loop of a)   22 φ...[: first perhaps lower left quadrant and cross-bar; last is top of upright

' "... towards Memphis; and this road involves a journey of three days (??). The width of the road is two cubits, and the water is up to the knees. Therefore be a man, brother, put me on (your shoulders) and traverse the sea, in all things advancing at once as I tell you (?). It was by this road that the great god Hermes and the thousand-named goddess Isis, wandering ... seeking the king (?) of the gods, Osiris (?) ..." And Amennophis(?), hearing this, rejoiced greatly.'

2] πρὸс τὴμ Μέμφε[looks a good guess. But Μέμφε[ιν makes a long line; and Μέμφε[ι|ν an awkward division. Rea suggests Μεμφε[ῖ|δα].

3–4 Turner's reconstruction gives good sense: (ὁδὸс ...) πρὸс τὴμ Μεμφε[ῖδα·] αὕτη δὲ ἔχει ἥμε|[ρῶ]ν τρ⟨ι⟩ῶν πόρον. (τ]αύτη is another possibility; but makes it difficult to supplement the beginning of the line.)

9 λ]ọιπον: of o a lower left quadrant; of ι only the lower part. For the expression see Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* 30.

13–14 ελθ[ω]ν is difficult to avoid. Either another imperative has fallen out; or πάντα must be adverbial, 'in all respects' or 'everywhere'.

15 ff. If lines 20 f. are correctly reconstructed, the reference is to Isis' search for Osiris after his death (e.g. Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* 14–15; Egyptian sources are listed in J. Gwyn Griffiths's commentary, p. 315). According to Diodorus 1. 17 and 20, Hermes (and Heracles) was left to assist Isis during Osiris' absence; Hermes and Isis together sacrificed to him after his death. I do not know any account in which Hermes joined Isis in the search, as he does apparently in the papyrus.

18 Εἰϛιν: of c only the back; of ν the first upright, and a point from the foot of the second (not c). Read Ἰсις.

19 f. ζητουϛα: c is likely (though it contains an oblique bar which might make a misshapen ε); of a the loop and tips from the back. But the sentence still lacks a main verb.

20 τọν β[αϛι]λεα: only the last three letters are sure. At the beginning almost anything could be read from the damaged and stained traces.

21 .[...].: the last trace is an upright, with diagonal joining from the left: ν possible. Ὄ[ϲιρι]ν would do. But equally Ὤ[ρο]ν, if it were appropriate (Hopfner, *Fontes* p. 295: Anubis and Isis search for the lost Horus); we should then need a new reading in 20.

21–2 Αμενν.φ...: before φ the traces are just consistent with ω (two short parallel uprights). At the end ν[rather than ϛ[: Ἀμεννῶφειν? Ἀμεννῶφθιν?

3012. ROMANCE (ANTONIUS DIOGENES?)

Plate VI

27 3B.43/C (1–2) a   12 × 11 cm.   Second/third century

This scrap comes from a very handsome roll, written in a good Severe Style. The upper margin is of *c.* 5 cm. The left margin (*c.* 4 cm.) is twice the width of the inter-columnium (*c.* 2 cm.): probably, then, the beginning of a roll. The numeration in the upper margin, added by a different hand, may be a book-number (see note). Lines 2, 9, 10, and 14 end with space-fillers. The back is blank.

The content, so far as discernible, is sentimental narrative. There is a narrator

d 9 f.), probably female (9 f.) ; a letter has arrived (1–2) ; the narrator perhaps reacts with a noble utterance (8) and a reference to her troubles (9). Δεινία (3) looks like a proper name.

These data allow a guess. The novel of Antonius Diogenes (summarized by Photius, *Bibl.* no. 166, II p. 140 Henry) was narrated by a Deinias; much of it repeated a narrative of Dercyllis, about the adventures of herself and her brother Mantinias. It is tempting to regard Dercyllis as the 'I' of our text, and restore her name in line 5.

If this guess is right, we have the beginning of one book of τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα. The text adds little. No crucial letter appears in Photius' summary. And the case for attributing PSI 1177 to Antonius is not strengthened by two minor verbal echoes (1–2, 9–10 notes).

See in general R. Helm, *Der antike Roman*[2] 29 f. ; Kl. Reyhl, *Antonius Diogenes* (Diss. Tübingen 1969).

$$[..]Δ́$$

—   ημενεπιστοληταυ   α[

        ταεδη . ουεγωδε   [

        πωςα[. .]οιωδεινια   [

        . . []μ . [.] . λε . . [. .] . ε[   ]   [

5   φη[. . .]ερκ . [

        ν . [. . .]διανλ . [

        ς[.] . . . αφωνη[.] . [

        τωγενναιαν . ροει[] [

        μεηδητοισεμαυ   [

10   τη . κα . [. .] . π . . [] .   [

        τ[. .]τ . [.]αν[. .] . νω[.]εν [

                ]ν . υθυσκατε [

                ] . σπουδηιβου[

                ] . . . . [.] . .   [

        .   .   .   .

i 2 Oblique foot as of λ   3]οιω : of ι the lower part of the shaft (too high in the line for τ) 4 . . [: parts of uprights   . [: upright and oblique horizontal as of ε   ] . : curving tail as of α   ] . : top of upright   [ ] : space for one or two letters, if necessary   5 . [: upright, upper part slopes to left   6 . [: oblique feet, as of α or λ   . [: oblique foot, as of α or λ   7] . . . : first oblique foot; third diagonal joining upright, as of ν   ] . [: point at line-level   8 . ρ : upright joining horizontal (as of γ), further trace as of second upright   [ ] : space for one letter, if necessary   10 τη . : η corrected (from ε?) ; high junction as of γ ς etc.   . [: upright   ] . : high horizontal   . . [: high point, then upright and horizontal as of γ, π   ] . : tip of high horizontal   11 . [: oblique foot as of α   ] . :

[..]Δ

1 ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ ταῦ-
τα ἐδήλου· ἐγὼ δε
πωϲα[.․]ριω Δεινία
․․[]με[.].λε․.[.․].ε
5 φ.[. Δ]ερκυ[λλ․․․
ν.[.․․]διαν λα[․․․
ϲ[.]․.ναφωνη[․․․․
τω γενναίαν προει[]
με ἤδη τοῖϲ ἐμαυ-
10 τῆϲ κακ[οῖ]ϲ π..[].
τ[.․]τ.[.]αν[.․].νω[.]εν
             ]ν εὐθὺϲ κατε-
             ]. ϲπουδῆι βου-
             ]․․․.[.]..
      ·   ·   ·   ·

end of horizontal at middle height   12]ν. : hook at line level (ε or ϲ)   13]. : tips of hori-
zontals at middle and full height (ε?)   14]․․․.: first horizontal, joining top of upright
]..: upper part of crossed 'z' (i.e. horizontal at middle height bisecting space-filler?)

Top margin. [..]Δ : δ alone, or any two- or three-part numeral ending in it. It is not likely to be
a column-number, for we seem to have the beginning of a roll. Perhaps, then, a roll- or book-number.
(Antonius Diogenes wrote in twenty-four books: thus δ, [ι]δ, and [κ]δ are all possible restorations.)

1–2 Cf. PSI 1177. 22 καὶ ἐδήλου (τὸ γραμματεῖον) τάδε.

3 If πῶϲ or πωϲ is separate, the rest can be articulated either (*a*) α[.․]οιω, Δεινία; or (*b*) α[.․]οι, ὦ Δεινία. (*a*) makes difficulties: π]οιῶ leads nowhere, ἀ[χρ]οιῶ has no obvious meaning here. With (*b*) we might consider ἐγὼ δὲ πῶϲ ἄ[ν ϲ]οι, ὦ Δεινία; then, as Dr. Rea suggests, ․․[]με[․]. λέξα[ιμ]ι.

4 λε.․[: the first trace is like no other preserved letter in the piece; it might be the upper part of ξ, as formed in similar hands. Then traces consistent with the left side of α or λ.

4–5 The spacing allows ἔφη[ν, Δ]ερκυ[λλί, ἔφη, [ὦ Δ]ερκυ[λλί, ἔφη [ἡ Δ]ερκυ[λλίϲ. The last best suits the reconstruction proposed for 3–4.

7–10 Reconstruction depends on line 8. προει (not πρόεϲ) seems unavoidable; the small lacuna following might hold one narrow letter; a wide letter, or any further writing, ought to be visible on the papyrus preserved at line-level further to the right. In 9 ηδη might be ambiguous (ἤδη, ἤδη). E.g. προεῖμε (l. -αι) ἤδη τοῖϲ ἐμαυτῆϲ κακ[οῖ]ϲ ... The phonetic corruption is unwelcome; but the participle προεί[ϲ would be awkward, and I can fit no other part of προίημι.

9–10 PSI 1177. 25 τὰ] ἑαυτῆϲ κακά.

10 π․․: apparently πεπ, πιπ, or ποπ.

11 e.g. ἐ]ὰν [μ]ένῳ[μ]εν. The line results from the junction of two fragments: the first has 1–10 and in 11 τ[.․]τ․[　　]εν, the second has 11]αν[.․].νῳ[and 12–14. The vertical alignment is guaranteed by a prominent fibre; the exact join is strongly suggested by an oblique crease which appears on the back of both fragments.

3013. ARGUMENT OF A *Tereus*?

The front of this papyrus is occupied by two damaged columns from a register, which mentions amounts of land and grain belonging to individuals in various Oxyrhynchite villages (Senepta, Muchis, Sinary, Nesla). Some entries begin with a cross-shaped check-mark.

On the back, across the fibres, is **3013**. Both columns of text are complete at head and foot; but of col. ii only the left-hand half remains. The intercolumnium is nearly 2 cm., the margin before col. i is *c*. 5 cm. Probably, therefore, we have the beginning of the roll or sheet. The narrative ends with the second column; there is no means of telling whether there were further columns treating further stories.

The hand is a decent semi-cursive of the second or third century: η appears both in cursive and in capital shape; ε and κ are always cursive; καί is written as a cursive κ with one additional stroke. The scribe wrote no punctuation, except in 30 αγ'νοων (this use of the apostrophe, rare before the third century, suggests a later rather than an earlier date); he has final iota adscript correctly in both places which require it (5), and once in error (15). The copy is a careless one: the mispelling Πρόκη is repeated; two passages seem certainly corrupt (2, 27).

The complete lines of col. i have 23 to 26 letters; those in col. ii which can be restored most plausibly have 19, 21, 23, and 24. The scribe sometimes leaves gaps, partly at least to avoid roughnesses in the writing surface: so that the estimating of lacunae is not easy.

The text—a narrative of the story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela—seems to

have stood complete in these two columns. The first begins with a heading set out in the upper margin: Τηρεὺϲ [ἡ ὑ]πόθεϲιϲ. The obvious parallels for such a heading come from the 'Tales from Euripides'. These epitomes have a common form: (title) οὗ ἀρχὴ (first line) ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεϲιϲ. (See 2455, 2457, PSI 1286, PMilVogl. 44. 420 (Electra) is damaged at the beginning; 2544 (Phoenissae) begins at the top of a column with the narrative, and may or may not have prefatory matter in a preceding column.) Similarly the hypotheses to Menander, 1235.

3013 resembles the 'Tales', and the mythographic hypotheses which descend from them, in the vagueness of its content: nothing is said about production or dramaturgy; it is not even clear how much of the story was treated directly, how much merely assumed. But the 'Tales' are at least attached to a particular play by the citation of the first line. 3013 has nothing of the sort: and the question must arise, whether it is simply mythographic narrative, or whether the use of the word ὑπόθεϲιϲ proves connection with a play.

Only two classical authors are known to have written plays about Tereus: Philocles, see Aristophanes, *Av.* 281 and scholia; and Sophocles, see frr. 581–95 Pearson (add Ammonius, *de Diff.* p. 79 Nickau, *app. crit.* to § 301; and perhaps Page, *GLP* no. 24). The later tradition, with the exception of Hyginus, presents a fairly consistent story: see Apollodorus II p. 99 Frazer. And this story is presumed to go back to Sophocles. The story, like 3013, sets the scene in Thrace; this must have been the normal fifth-century view, to judge from the vigour with which Thucydides polemizes against it (2. 29. 3).

If then our text is the hypothesis to a play, it is likely to be the play of Sophocles. If so, we may take it as confirmation that the standard story of the mythographers goes back to Sophocles; and especially that the play took place in Thrace and not in Daulia. As a composition the text has similarities with the Euripidean summaries: the initial proper name, verbs in the past tense, ambitious vocabulary. The heading differs, in omitting the first line; but this short form is the norm in the medieval hypotheses to all the tragedians.

An alternative is to see the piece as an exercise in narrative, like the school pieces in Ziebarth, *Aus. d. ant. Schule* 17b and 40. I am not sure that ὑ]πόθεϲιϲ excludes this possibility; nor do verbal coincidences with preserved mythographers. But we need positive evidence of amateurishness. Mis-spellings (3, 5) and garbling (2, 27) may be the fault of the copyist; and so perhaps πρεϲβυτερωτέραν (4). There remains only the odd syntax of 7 προϲαγορεύϲαϲ and 12 ἄξειν, and the anacoluthon in 20–23.

col. i   col. ii

↓   τηρ̣ευ̣c[. . .]. .θεϲιc

.].νδιωνοτωναθηναιωνδυν̣.ϲ   νοϲδε[[.]]μητη̣α̣[

.]χωνθυγατεραϲπροκηνκαιφιλο   εγλωϲϲοτομ̣.[

.]ηλαντηνπρεϲβυτερωτεραν   20   παραγεναμενοϲ[

5   ..]οκηντηρειγαμωιεζευξεν[.]ω̣ι   θρακηνκαιτη̣φ̣[

..].θρακωνβαϲιλει̣.ϲεϲχε̣ν̣ε̣ξ   δυναμενηϲ[

..].ηϲυιονπροϲαγορευϲαϲ   ϲυνφορανδιυφο[

ιτυ̣νχρονουδεδιελθο̣ντοϲκαι   επιγνουϲαδεηπρ̣[

βουλομενηϲτηϲπροκνηϲθεα   25   θειανζηλοτυπ̣[

10   ϲαϲθαιτηναδελφηνηξιωϲετο̣ν   οιϲτρηθειϲακαι[

τηρεαπορευϲαϲθαιει̣.αθηναϲ   νην̣.ερεινοιϲλα[

αξεινοδεπαραγενομενοϲε̣ιϲ   ιτυ̣ν̣εϲφαγιαϲε̣[

αθηναϲκαιε̣.[. . . . .].θειϲυ̣.ο   ϲαπαρεθηκε[

τουπανδιονοϲ[. . . . .].θενονκαι   30   βοραναγʼνοων[

15   μεϲο̣πορηϲαϲ[. . . . .]η̣ιτηϲπαι   δευθειϲαιεγε[

δοϲοδεταπιϲ[. . . . .]υ̣λαξαϲ   αηδωνηδεχ̣.[

διεπαρθενευ[. . . . .]α̣βουμε   δεοτηρευϲ[

1]. . : foot of upright; lower part of upright   2]. : peak as of α or λ   .c: upright, point at middle height   6]. : upright   .c: upright, turning left at foot   7]. : π or τ   11 ει. : trace of high horizontal   13 .[: γ or π   ]. : low horizontal   υ.ο: high horizontal, low point below   14]. : short upright, high points of ink above   19 .[: upright, vestige of cross-bar at middle height   32 .[: part of curved back

1
Τηρεύς· [ἡ ὑ]πόθεϲιϲ
Π]ανδίων ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυν⟨άϲτ⟩ηϲ,
ἔ]χων θυγατέραϲ Πρόκ⟨ν⟩ην καὶ Φιλο-
μ]ήλαν, τὴν πρεϲβυτερωτέραν

5
Πρ]όκ⟨ν⟩ην Τηρεῖ γάμωι ἔζευξεν [τ]ῶι
τῶ]ν Θρᾳκῶν βαϲιλεῖ, ὃϲ ἔϲχεν ἐξ
αὐ]τῆϲ υἱὸν προϲαγορεύϲαϲ
Ἴτυν· χρόνου δὲ διελθόντοϲ καὶ
βουλομένηϲ τῆϲ Πρόκνηϲ θεά-

10
ϲαϲθαι τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἠξίωϲε τὸν
Τηρέα πορεύϲαϲθαι εἰϲ Ἀθήναϲ
ἄξειν· ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενοϲ εἰϲ
Ἀθήναϲ καὶ ἐπ[.....].θεὶϲ ὑπὸ
τοῦ Πανδίονοϲ [τὴν πα]ρθένον καὶ

15
μεϲοπορήϲαϲ [ἠράϲθ]η{ι} τῆϲ παι-
δόϲ· ὁ δὲ τὰ πιϲ[τὰ οὐ φ]υλάξαϲ
διεπαρθένευ[ϲεν· εὐλ]αβούμε-
νοϲ δὲ μὴ τῇ ἀ[δελφῇ μηνύϲῃ
ἐγλωϲϲοτόμη[ϲε τὴν παῖδα·

20
παραγενάμενοϲ [δὲ εἰϲ τὴν
Θρᾴκην καὶ τῆϲ Φ[ιλομήλαϲ οὐ
δυναμένηϲ [ἐκλαλεῖν τὴν
ϲυνφορὰν δι' ὕφο[υϲ ἐμήνυϲε·
ἐπιγνοῦϲα δὲ ἡ Πρ[όκνη τὴν ἀλή-

25
θειαν ζηλοτυπ[ίᾳ τῇ ἐϲχάτῃ
οἰϲτρηθεῖϲα καὶ [c. 7
νην . ερεινοιϲ λα[βοῦϲα τὸν
Ἴτυν ἐϲφαγίαϲε [καὶ καθεψήϲα-
ϲα παρέθηκε [τῷ Τηρεῖ· ὁ δὲ τὴν

30
βορὰν ἀγνοῶν [ἔφαγεν· αἱ δὲ φυγα-
δευθεῖϲαι ἐγέ[νοντο ἡ μὲν
ἀηδὼν ἡ δὲ χε[λιδών, ἔποψ
δὲ ὁ Τηρεύϲ.

'Tereus: the *hypothesis*:
Pandion, the ruler of the Athenians, having (two) daughters, Procne and Philomela, united the

elder, Procne, in marriage with Tereus the king of the Thracians, who had by her a son whom he named Itys. As time passed, and Procne wished to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring (her back). He, after reaching Athens and receiving the girl from Pandion and making half the return journey, fell in love with the girl. And he disregarded his trust and violated her. But, as a precaution in case she should tell her sister, he cut out the girl's tongue. On arriving in Thrace, and Philomela being unable to speak her misfortune, she revealed it by means of a piece of weaving. When Procne realized the truth, driven mad by jealousy . . . she took Itys and killed him and after cooking him served him up to Tereus. He ate the meal without realizing. The women took to flight and became, one of them a nightingale, one a swallow, and Tereus a hoopoe.'

1 [ἡ ὑ]πόθεςιc: the two traces before θ look like the foot of an upright, followed by a short upright (unless this is ink which has run on a prominent fibre). I have taken them to belong to a π (right foot) and to a straight-sided ο, but it is not (palaeographically) a reading which leaps to the eye. The space will not allow [οὖ ἡ ὑ]πόθεςιc or [ἡ δὲ ὑ]πόθεςιc.

3 Πρόκ⟨ν⟩ην: so in 5 but not in 9. Perhaps a phonetic error, though I can find no parallel closer than δραχ⟨μ⟩ή, which occurs sporadically in documents (Dr. Gignac refers to BGU 1602 B 11, PRossGeorg. II 19. 54, PTebt. 397. 32, Wilcken, *Ostr.* 674. 3).

4 πρεcβυτερωτέραν: paralleled only in the document M. *Chr.* 57. 15. Double comparatives of course occur early, and become frequent later; but the double -τεροc is not expected (Mayser i 2. 61 f., Schwyzer i 535. 8). Perhaps then (as Rea suggests) a simple error: πρεcβυ{τερω}τέραν.

13 Perhaps ἐπ[ιτρε]φθείc. (ἐγ[χειρι]cθείc would suit the sense equally, and fill the lacuna, for which [ιτρε] is a little short. But the trace before θ fits the flat-based loop of φ better than the lower curl of c.)

18 ff. The lines of the second column have lost about half their length. The very probable restorations in 21, 24, 31, and 32 give line-lengths of 23, 24, 21, and 19 letters.

23 δι' ὕφο[υc is certain, not ὑφῆc or ὑφάcματοc. The account must have been brief and unexplicit, in the space available: contrast Apollodorus 3. 14. 8 ὑφήναcα ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα; Conon, *Narr.* (*FGrH* 26 F 1) 31 πέπλον ὑφαίνουcα γράφει τὰ πάθη τοῖc νήμαcι.

27 νην. ερεινοιc: of the damaged letter there remains the right-hand half: an angle best suited to ο or perhaps to δ (though this is normally wider and flatter). Under the corruption there should be a reference to the Erinyes: cf. remotely Ach. Tat. 5. 5. 6–8 δύο γυναῖκεc εἰc ἐν πνέουcαι καὶ ὕβρει κεράcαcαι τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν δεῖπνον ἐπινοοῦcι τῶν γάμων ἀτυχέcτερον . . . ἐδείπνηcεν ὁ Τηρεὺc δεῖπνον 'Ερινύων. If the readings are right, emendation is required: (*a*) καὶ [γενομέ]νη ὑπερινὺc (but the adjective is not attested); (*b*) καὶ [μεμανημέ]νη ὑ⟨π⟩ὸ 'Ερινύ⟨ο⟩c (Rea).

Alternatively, we might try to read νη ἡ δ' 'Ερεινοὶc (for -ὺc): '. . . she, like a Fury, . . .'. This runs into two difficulties: (*a*) ν. ερεινοιc looks a better reading than η. ερεινοιc (there is no sign of the left upright of η); (*b*) the sentence in 24–6 is left without a main verb.

33 The end, apparently, though the break in the papyrus might conceal further writing in the same line.

II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3014. GNOMON OF THE IDIOS LOGOS §§ 35–41

20 3B.30/F (1–3) b

12·5 × 22 cm.

Plate VII
First century

The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* has been known so far only from the complete copy published as BGU V. The new text comprises a single column to full height, damaged at the left and in places much rubbed. One initial trace remains from a second column. The back is blank.

The hand is a rapid professional cursive, comparable e.g. with Schubart, *Pal.* Abb. 28 (A.D. 31) and 30 (A.D. 40/1), *PGB* 15b (A.D. 39) and 16a (A.D. 42). Short blanks are used as punctuation in lines 3, 12, and 13; blank line-spaces separate the sections (one of them, between 4 and 5, shows the end of an extended paragraphus).

The text in BGU was compiled, if not copied, under Antoninus Pius. **3014**, to judge from the hand, belongs as much as a century earlier. It avoids some minor errors: 12 οἱ μέν (ὁ μέν BGU), 17 τῷ ἥττονι (ηγτονι BGU); at 13 it has the expected ἡμίcει, against ἡμ[ιcι]ᾳ which Schubart read reluctantly on palaeographic grounds. But there are more substantive variations:

3 f. the property of soldiers who die intestate and without heirs *eiusdem generis* goes to the camp: **3014** is now the earliest evidence for this rule; BGU omits the clause.

9 f. those who go into self-imposed exile are allowed one-twelfth of their property. BGU attributes this concession to Antoninus Pius, **3014** to some earlier (but illegible) authority. Both copies have αὐτοῖc masculine (against Naber's misguided αὐταῖc, see *Museum*, 1920, p. 221).

17 the spacing in **3014** excludes the garbled text of BGU. I suspect that Αἰγυπτίοιc alone stood here, and that ἢ ἀcτοῖc is a marginal addition (deriving from a later change of law?) which BGU misplaced.

By and large, however, the text shows remarkable stability. We cannot tell whether the numeration of sections was the same. Only one number survives, that is $\overline{\mu}$[for the first section of column two. This is $\overline{\mu\beta}$ in BGU: so there can have been no very large variation.

→   τοὺς στρατευομένους] κ[αὶ] ἀδιαθέτους τελευτῶντας   § 35   [

     ἐξὸν τέκνοις καὶ συγγεν]ές[ιν] κληρονομεῖν ὅταν τοῦ   μ[

     αὐτοῦ γένους ὦσιν ο]ἱ μετερχόμενοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ   [

        c. 10   ].[....]...η παρεμβολη   (vac.)   [

                 }—   [

5   τῶν ἐπὶ φόνοι]ς ἢ μείζοσιν ἁμαρτήμασιν κολαζο-   § 36   [

     μένων ἢ καὶ διὰ] ὁμοίας αἰτίας αὐθαίρετον φυγὴν ἑ-   [

     λομένων τὰ ὑ]πάρχοντα ἀναλαμβάνεται δίδοτ[αι ..

        c. 12   ]..των καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐν ἀργυρίοις ..[..

        c. 14   ]. αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ὑπὸ   [

10   c. 12   ]ου.[.].[.]....ου συνεχωρήθη (vac.) [

             ]   [

     οἱ παρὰ προστ]άγματα βασιλέων ἢ ἐπάρχων τι πρ[άξαν-   § 37

     τες ἀκαταλλήλως] ἐζημιώθησαν οἱ μὲν τετάρτῳ μέρει   [

     τῆς οὐσίας οἱ δὲ] ἡμίσει ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ ὅλων   (vac.)   [

            ]   [

     οἱ ἐξ ἀστῆς κ]αὶ Αἰγυπτ[ί]ου γενόμ[ε]νοι μέν[ουσι μὲν   § 38

15   Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμφοτέρου]ς δὲ κληρονομοῦσι τοὺ[ς γονεῖς

            ]   [

     Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμ]αίας κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνελθ[όντων   § 39

        c. 14   τ]ὰ τέκνα τῷ ἥττονι γένει ἀ[κολουθεῖ

            ]   [

     τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰ]σαγ[ό]ντων οὓς μὴ δεῖ εἰς τὴ[ν Ἀλεξανδρέ-   § 40

     ων πολιτεία]ν [νῦν] ἡγεμο[νι]κῆς γέ[γονεν διαγνώσεως

            ]   [

20   ἐὰν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ κοπ]ρίας ἀν[έ]λη[ται   § 41

9 ῦπο (= ὕπο)

1–3 This article is usually thought to derive from a letter of Hadrian of A.D. 119 (M. *Chr.* 373). This letter allows soldiers' children, born during the period of service, to claim ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τοῦ διατάγματος, οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς γένους συγγενέσι δίδοται. The new copy of the *Gnomon* is most probably earlier than Hadrian. Either then line 2 must be supplemented somehow else; or the inference is false. But in any case the provisions of the *Gnomon* and of the Letter are not coextensive. Children might have been born to soldiers before they entered the army; and these were presumably legitimate. Children born during the period of service were illegitimate, because their fathers were legally debarred from marriage. Hadrian is concerned only with the illegitimate; the innovation is to allow them rights under the clause *unde cognati*. The *Gnomon* is formulated more generally, and perhaps refers to legitimate offspring.

3–4 In BGU article 35 finishes at οἱ μετερχόμενοι. The new clause should refer to cases in which

there are no heirs *eiusdem generis*. At the end ϛμβολη is clear, παρϵμβολη possible. The point must be that the dead man's property goes to the camp as a whole. This arrangement is implied in a letter of Hadrian (*Dig.* 28. 3. 6. 7) about succession in cases of suicide: 'divus Hadrianus dedit epistula ad Pomponium Falconem ut, si quidem ob conscientiam delicti militaris mori maluit, irritum sit eius testamentum; quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum, aut si intestato decessit cognatis aut, si non sint, legioni ista sint vindicanda.' (Cf. Ulpian, *Dig.* 40. 5. 4. 17.) A full statement in a constitution of A.D. 347, *Cod. Theod.* 5. 6. 1 = *Cod. Just.* 6. 62. 2: '. . . cum aliquis fuerit rebus humanis exemptus atque intestatus sine legitimo herede decesserit, ad vexillationem in qua militaverit res eiusdem necessario pervenire.'

].. .η παρϵμβολη: perhaps e.g. δίδοτ]αι τῇ παρϵμβολῇ (for the verb cf. *Gnomon* line 66); the only doubt is the tau of τῇ, where one would expect the vertical to be visible. The traces allow]αι but not]ϵι. But of course it may have been a nominative,]. . . ἡ παρεμβολή.

7 ff. BGU reads: δίδοται δὲ τέκνοις αὐτῶν τὸ ι̅ καὶ ταῖς γυ[να]ιξὶν αἱ ἐν ἀργυρίῳ προῖκες, καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ ι̅β̅ Ἀντωνῖνο[ς] Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος συνεχώρησεν. 3014 differed slightly in several places:

7–9 Following BGU we might reconstruct: δίδοτ[αι δὲ | τὸ ι̅ τοῖς τέκνοις] αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ⟨αἱ⟩ ἐν ἀργυρίοις πρ[οῖ|κες. This satisfies the traces. But (1) the supplement at the beginning of 8 is long, even given the elasticity of cursive hands; (2) the fraction is written in line 9 as word, not numeral; (3) line 9 needs an extra word, if πρ[οῖκες . . . . κα]ὶ αὐτοῖς δέ is right. (1) and (2) could be eliminated by assuming an omission:] αὐτῶν ⟨τὸ δέκατον⟩. I see no way of dealing with (3).

9–10 There is nothing against κα]ὶ αὐτοῖς δέ; for the rest, the clause will have been the same in outline as in BGU, but couched in the passive. The concession is attributed to someone, whose name in the genitive should follow ὑπό at the beginning of line 10. If the someone was an emperor, the wording should follow one of two basic patterns: τοῦ θεοῦ X; or X καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.

The traces are substantial. After]ου parts of horizontal and upright (π, τ, υ ?); then a small space which may or may not have contained a whole letter; then the foot of an upright; then another small space; then part of a loop (ο, ρ, α?); then horizontal and upright as of τ or ligatured ι; then foot of upright with another point high up above it; then a point of ink at line height: e.g.].τλου or].ιλου, even perhaps].λλου. κυρίου seems to be excluded; and I can fit no imperial name (it would have in any case to be a long one).

Legal sources (Mommsen, *Strafrecht* 1010 f.) do not help. They give the purpose of the concession as *viaticum*; but again I cannot identify ἐνοδίου (or ἐφ-) or ὁδοιπορικοῦ or οὐιατικοῦ here.

16 BGU has λ̅θ̅ 'Ρωμαίου ἢ 'Ρωμαίας κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνελθόντων ἢ ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰ τέκνα ἥγτονι γένει ἀκολουθεῖ. In this ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις is clearly garbled, and ἥγτονι for τῷ ἥττονι is simple error. Line 17 may have had the correct version of the first phrase as it does of the second; the whole phrase would certainly be long for the space, but Αἰγυπτίοις by itself would fit neatly; BGU will have incorporated and misplaced a marginal note.

3015. EXTRACTS FROM COURT RECORDS

35 4B.101/K (5)   22·2×21 cm.   Early 2nd century

This sheet, which contains items of case-law about testamentary disposition, has been folded nine times across the writing, and then in half along its width; these folds explain the repeated damage-pattern in lines 14–16. The copy was made after the death of Trajan (6, 13), but not much after, to judge from the hand. The back is blank.

Three decisions are cited. Of the first (1–5) only the end remains. The second and third are complete: one (6–12) dates from 8 May 109; the other (13–27) from an unknown year of Trajan; in both the judge is the prefect Sulpicius Similis; both begin with the 'extract formula' (8, 14), and mention consultation with the consilium and a legal assessor. All three decisions, then, are probably extracted from the prefect's

commentarii; and the extract comprises his general statement about the point of law, followed by the verdict (which is marked off in 4 and 25 by the asyndeton).

This collection has considerable similarity with **2757**, which contains (in consecutive columns) decisions of the prefects Colo (A.D. 70) and Lupus (71/2–72/3). The outline is much the same: date, parties, extract phrase. The two columns carry the numbers 15 and 1[6]: an extensive series. It might be that **3015** belonged to this series, and had the name of Similis as its heading (now lost). In favour of this supposition is community of subject: **2757** ii concerns the right of fathers to disinherit any of their children at choice, much the same point as **3015** 22 f.; **2757** i deals with a contract made by a man now dead, so that the issue may have been similar. On the other hand, **2757** and **3015** seem unlikely to belong to the same roll: the hands are different, and **3015**, with its wide left margin (4 cm.) and straight right edge, looks like a separate sheet. Further, **2757** was found in the third year of Grenfell and Hunt's excavations, **3015** in the fourth.

All three cases concern the rights of testators. In the first the prefect announces his intention of judging by 'the laws of the Egyptians' (3); in the second he decides that the testator had full discretion, as being an 'Egyptian'; in the third he refers simply to 'the law' (20). It seems clear, then, that Similis made his decisions under local law, which was less strict in its provisions; and this is why he needs the help of Artemidorus the solicitor, and from him cites this law at second hand.

It is an interesting question whether this is in some way a new departure. Similis deals with a similar question in the edict **237** viii 21 ff. + PMerton iii 101, which concerns the rights of Egyptian women over their husbands' property under local law (ἐγχώρια νόμιμα). The edict and the decisions in **3015** would fit the thesis of Taubenschlag about οἱ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νόμοι (*Law*² 6, *Op. Min.* ii 108 f.): he suggested that the phrase designates a new code, introduced in the second century and applicable to all 'Egyptians' in the Roman sense (including, that is, the Greeks of the metropoleis). It might be, then, that Similis had taken some step to recognize or systematize local law in the matter of matrimonial and inherited property; and found himself dealing with a whole group of test-cases in consequence. But there are objections to the general thesis: see Wolff, *ZSS* 70 (1953) 42 f. And in particular **2757** ii seems to presuppose a very similar situation *c*. A.D. 72: there too a νομικός expounds 'the laws', and concludes that the testator has full discretion; only a specific reference to 'Egyptians' is missing.

παντπράσιον (21) is a new word, which apparently describes a practice familiar from demotic contracts. Our text shows the same practice in use, in the early second century, among the Greeks of the metropoleis.

I have particular obligations to Prof. P. W. Pestman, for a discussion of this difficult document.

→   ]..[..]...[..].............[

...]..μονο.κ[].[]υϲι κάλλιϲτόν ἐϲτιν αὐτοὺϲ

δικ]αιοδοτεῖν π[ρὸ]ϲ τοὺϲ Αἰγυπτίων νόμουϲ

ἐ]φ᾽ οἷϲ ἔξεϲτι κ[α]ὶ μεταδιατίθεϲθαι· καλῶϲ δι-

5   έθε]το ὁ τελευτήϲ[α]ϲ.

(ἔτουϲ) ιβ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παχὼν ιγ· Ἄρειοϲ καὶ Ϲαραπίων

ἀμφότεροι Πτολεμαίου πρὸϲ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ

Ἀπολλώνιον· ἐκ τῶν ῥηθέντων· Ϲουλ(πίκιοϲ)

Ϲίμιλιϲ πυθόμενοϲ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ ἐξη-

10   γουμένου το[ὺϲ] νόμουϲ περὶ τοῦ πράγματοϲ

καὶ ϲυνλαλήϲαϲ τοῖϲ ϲυμ[β]ούλοιϲ ἔφη· Αἰγύ-

π]τιοϲ εἶχεν ἐξουϲίαν καθὼϲ βούλεται διαθέϲθαι.

(ἔτουϲ) ..] θεοῦ Τρα[ι]αν[ο]ῦ Τῦβι κ̄ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Τρύφωνα

πρὸ]ϲ Διδ[.....]   μεθ᾽ ἕ[τερα]· Ϲουλ[πίκι]οϲ Ϲίμιλιϲ

15   ϲυνλ]αλή[ϲαϲ τοῖ]ϲ ϲυνβ[ούλοιϲ] καὶ ἀνα[κοιν]ωϲάμεν[οϲ

Ἀρ]τεμιδώρῳ νομικῷ ἔ[φη· λ]έγεται .[...].ονε.[....

..].. οὔτε ἡ γυνὴ ἐφ᾽ ἧϲ καινότερόν τι ϲυνεφώνη[ϲεν

ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ γαμοῦντοϲ οὔτε οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῆϲ περίειϲι

οἷϲ ἐδύνατο κατέχεϲθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ϲυμφωνίαν,

20   ἄκυρόν ἐϲτιν ἤδη τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα· ὁ δὲ νόμοϲ ὡϲ λέ-

γεται δίδωϲιν ἐξουϲίαν τῶι τὸ πανπράϲιον οἰκονομή-

ϲαντι καὶ κατϲχόντα τοῖϲ τέκνοιϲ τὰ ἴδια ἐκλέ-

ξαϲθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἕνα καὶ κληρονόμον ποιῆϲαι· οὐκουν

παραπεϲούϲηϲ τῆϲ δευτέραϲ ἀϲφαλείαϲ εἰϲ τὴν προ-

25   τέραν ἀνέκαμψεν τὸ δίκαιον· ἐξῆν αὐτῷ ὡϲ ἐβούλετο

διαθέϲθαι κληρονόμουϲ καταλιπόντι τοὺϲ παῖδαϲ αὐ-

τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷϲ ἐποιήϲατο τὸ πανπράϲιον.

8 ϲουλ᾽   21 οικονομη-: οι suprascript above an undeleted ω

'"... it is best that they should decide cases in accordance with the laws of the Egyptians—under which it is possible even to alter the terms of the will. The will which the deceased made is in order."

'Yr. 12 of the deified Trajan, Pachon 13. Arius and Sarapion, both sons of Ptolemaeus, against Athenodorus and Apollonius. From the pleadings. Sulpicius Similis, after inquiring about the case from Artemidorus the interpreter of the laws and talking with his advisers, said: "As an Egyptian, he had the right to make his will on whatever terms he wished."

'[Yr. . . .] of the deified Trajan, Tybi 20. In the case of Tryphon etc. against Did..... After

other matter. Sulpicius Similis, after talking with his advisers and referring the case to Artemidorus the lawyer, said: ". . . neither the wife, over whom the father of the bridegroom made a more recent agreement, nor her sons, are alive, on which parties the (property) in the agreement could be entailed—this document is now void. The law, I am told, gives to a man who has negotiated a 'general sale', even though he has entailed his property on his children, the power to choose out one of them and make this one his heir. It is therefore (not?) the case that, with the disappearance of the second bond, the right reverts to the first one. It was open to him to make his will on whatever terms he wished, (provided that?) he left as heirs those children of his in whose name he made the 'general sale'." '

1–2 The validity of a will has been challenged. The prefect dismisses the claim, on the ground that under the 'Egyptian laws' the testator had a perfect right to change his dispositions.

What is in question, then, is the right μεταδιατίθεcθαι. This is a right which Greek wills often reserve (e.g. PStrass. 284. 4, BGU 1654. 6, PWisc. 13. 3); BGU 895 documents the disposal of the estate of a μεταδιατιθεμένη. The plaintiff obviously could not claim that the procedure was illegal in all circumstances. There must have been something special about the earlier will: perhaps a κατοχή.

2 Perhaps]νομον ούκ [έ]χ[ο]υcι. (Of]ν only the diagonal, and a spot of ink suitable for the second vertical; of the first ο a left-hand arc. After -μον a short space, apparently blank. Of υ in ουκ, only the top left curl. Then]χ[]υcι rather than]λ[]υcι.) If this is right, I suppose the general sense is: 'To those who have no claim to be judged by (Roman? Greek?) law, we do best to return judgements by Egyptian law'; write νόμον rather than e.g. κληρο]νόμον. But I cannot make a smooth sentence. Is [έ]χ[ο]υcι verb or participle? Is αὐτοὺc subject of δικ]αιοδοτεῖν? or object? (but then a dative might be expected).

9 f. Ἀρτεμιδώρου: on the *nomikoi* see Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 161 f.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft u. soziale Stellung*² 269 f. This Artemidorus might be identified with Clau. Artemidorus, who appears in the same capacity in a similar case of A.D. 124 (M. *Chr.* 84): see 11 f. note.

11 f. The same general principle is cited in M. *Chr.* 84. 16 f. (with which cf. 2757 ii). There Blaesius Marianus, by delegation from the prefect Haterius Nepos, hears a case about inheritance: Aphrodisius had entered into an ἄγραφοc γάμοc with Sarapous; one of their sons, Horigenes, had died, bequeathing his estate to one of his brothers and to his cousin Ammonius; Ammonius now claims that the bequest was valid, because Egyptians may leave their property to whomever they like; Aphrodisius argues against him that the son of an unwritten marriage has no right to make a will in his father's lifetime. Marianus, after consulting with Clau. Artemidorus, rejected Ammonius' claim.

Why does Marianus reject the general principle? Arangio-Ruiz suggested that Marianus gave Roman practice the preference over native law: but there are arguments against this view (H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages* 60 ff.), especially if it is the same Artemidorus who gives expert advice in both M. *Chr.* 84 and 3015. More probably, the principle καθὼc βούλεται διαθέcθαι was an established one; but the particular case of a son of an unwritten marriage, making a will in his father's lifetime, does not fall under its provisions. Note the implication (M. *Chr.* 84. 28 f.) that the son of a written marriage would be in a different position.

16 ff. I am not clear about the outline of this complicated case; and the ambiguity of ουκουν in 23 adds to the obscurity. The persons involved are: the father (F), his son who marries (S), a wife (W), sons of W. It seems likely that W is the wife of S (rather than F); and that the other children (22, 26) are children of F. The point at issue must be the will of F. The difficulty lies in deciding how many separate documents are referred to. Very tentatively I suggest three stages:

(1) παντράcιον: F, when he married, 'sold' his property to his wife (21 note) and entailed it on their children. This agreement is called προτέρα (ἀcφάλεια) in 24 f.

(2) F's son S marries W; F makes some agreement in favour of W and her children. This agreement is referred to by καινότερόν τι (17: 'later' than stage 1?), cυμφωνία (19), γράμμα (20), δευτέρα ἀcφάλεια (24). W and her sons die (18), so that the agreement lapses (24).

(3) F makes a will, in which he names one of his children sole heir (23). This heir must be the defendant of the suit, i.e. the Did[ ] of 14.

Two points are therefore central to the decision: that the beneficiaries of (2) are dead, and the agreement accordingly irrelevant; and that the existence of (1) is no bar to (3).

Further questions could be asked about the real situation: how much of the property was involved at each stage? and how far do the stages overlap temporally? Prof. Pestman suggests that (1) concerned the whole estate; (2) concedes part of the estate to W and her children; (3) appointed a sole heir to the rest, at a time when (2) was still valid (this explains why (2) comes into the case at all). Later W and her sons died, and F died, so that the whole property is now in play.

Any reconstruction has to explain two sections of the argument in which the wording is ambiguous:

23 ff. οὐκουν might be positive or negative. If negative, the line is: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is not the case that the lapsing of the second agreement revalidates the first (because the third—the will—is in fact valid).' If οὐκοῦν is positive, and the basic situation has been correctly described, we shall have to transpose stages (2) and (3). Argument: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is the case that the lapsing of the second agreement (in favour of W and her children) revives the former (agreement under which Did[ ] was made sole heir).'

26 καταλιπόντι might represent more than one mood. Does it mean 'although he had (originally) left (all) the children as heirs . . .'? Or 'provided that his heirs (or in this case, single heir) are those (or among those) in favour of whom the "sale" was originally made'? Both elliptical.

16 f. Unless ἄκυρόν ἐςτιν ἤδη (20) stands in asyndeton, we need a subordinating conjunction; in fact ἐπ]εἰ fits well in 17 (before οὔτε a single upright, and before that indeterminate spots of ink).

λ]έγεται begins the sentence; there is no space for ὡς before it. In what follows, ˌ[is the left tip of a high horizontal (π? τ?);]ˌ is probably θ or τ; ˌ[perhaps ς, assuming that the trace below is the beginning of 17 η[.

21 πανπράcιον: here and in 27; otherwise only in an unpublished petition to Petronius Mamertinus, prefect A.D. 133/7 (35 4B.64/D (1) a). In the petition the situation is much the same as here. The petitioner's father married according to τὰς νομίμας παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις [c]υνγραφάc, and made a κατοχή of the property of both parents (a special share for the eldest son, other shares for the brothers); here too the word πᾳνπράcιον occurs (damaged context) in connection with κατέχειν; and here too the difficulty arises from a will made later by the father. No Greek source throws any light on the meaning of πανπράcιον. But it is likely to be an Egyptian institution. I am inclined therefore to explain the word from the Demotic contracts described by Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property* 37 ff. (the Greek subscriptions call them cυνάλλαγμα or cυγγραφὴ τροφῖτις). In these contracts, which are often drawn up some time after the actual marriage, the husband acknowledges to the wife that he has sold her his entire property, in return for the token payment (sʿnḫ) which the wife had made him; sometimes he adds a clause of settlement: 'To you (on behalf of) the children, whom you have borne me and which you will (still) bear to me . . . (the whole property) belongs.' These two elements correspond to πανπράcιον and κατοχή.

Pestman 41 regards πρόπραcιc as the Greek name for this procedure: see PMich. 347 (A.D. 21) and PMich. 121 R II ii etc. (A.D. 42). He has suggested to me by letter that πανπράcιον and πρόπραcιc in fact describe the same practice from different points of view: it is a sale of the whole property (παν-) but also (since the seller retains the right to dispose of it by testament) a provisional sale (προ-).

22 f. 'The husband is quite free to appoint his heirs, within certain limits, provided that at least one of the children, for instance the eldest son, is appointed heir. . . . The stipulation pertaining to the law of succession is, therefore, inserted in our deeds to indicate who will be the heir of those who are heirs-at-law; when no heir is appointed, those who are heirs-at-law, all the children, inherit the property on that account' (Pestman 128). Cf. the negative form **2757** ii?

24 παραπεcούcηc: the normal meaning would be 'having been mislaid', cf. the examples collected by Youtie, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 171; in three of them the document is explicitly said to be invalid for this reason. But I don't see that this can be relevant here. The sense ought to be 'lapse', 'become inapplicable'.

3016. Judicial Proceedings

Plate VIII

No inventory number   14·5 × 19·3 cm.   28 May 148

This document is an extract from the prefectoral day-book, copied in a heavy round hand of literary pretensions; the copy is not likely to be much later than the events recorded. The back is blank.

The extract concerns proceedings of 28 May 148: presumably in the prefect's court. All that survives belongs to a single clause in the genitive absolute: 'when decisions of the *xenokritai* (who are listed) had been read out (and the decisions are quoted verbatim in Latin), . . .'. The apodosis will have begun in line 22.

The *xenokritai* are the point of interest. The evidence available does not allow a certain conclusion about their functions; but it seems worth collecting the material and venturing a suggestion. I am grateful to the legal seminar which discussed the document in London (notably Prof. J. A. C. Thomas and Prof. Peter Stein) for putting the difficulties in a clearer light.

The *xenokritai* in this document number fifteen; they are Roman citizens; they return a decision in Latin. It is obviously likely, though not to be proved, that they functioned in Egypt. The case apparently concerned a freedwoman: 13] *mulier de qua agitur* . [, 15] . . *libertina ae* . . [, 18] . . . *seru*[(clearly reading and articulation are doubtful in 15 and 18, but the three passages may be thought to buttress one another). The dispute may have been about her *status libertatis* or about her ownership.

The noun was known otherwise only from two inscriptions: BSA 26. 163 (Sparta, Trajan/Hadrian) Eudocimus ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα; IGR iii 681 = TAM ii 508 (Pinara, ? i B.C.) τὴν τοῦ ϲε]μνοτάτου δικαιοδότου καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ[ιαλά]χεϲιν. In both, as in Cicero's reference to *peregrini iudices* in Cilicia (*ad Att.* 6. 1. 15), interpretation has differed between 'judges for aliens' and 'alien judges' (i.e. judges brought in from outside, μετάπεμπτα δικαστήρια). See Magie, *RRAM* ii 1383. The second interpretation fits the Spartan who went to Alabanda in this capacity; in the two other sources the context gives no foothold.

A new piece of evidence accrued quite recently. In *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967) 46 ff. Prof. Polotsky publishes three pieces from the archive of Babatha.[1] This archive, recovered at En Gedi by the Dead Sea, dates from the years A.D. 125–32; its owner, Babatha daughter of Simon, lived at Maoza near Zoar, south of the Dead Sea, in the new province of Arabia; she was presumably a Jewess, and certainly not a Roman citizen. Babatha's son was a minor; the *boule* of Petra provided him with a guardian (PEng. 27). In the same context belong duplicate copies of a Greek formulary (PEng. 28–9), which virtually translates the Roman formula for the *iudicium tutelae* (Lenel, *Edictum* para. 124).

What is odd about the formula is, that where the Roman text would be sup-

[1] The documents are reprinted as SB X 10288; and discussed by M. Lemosse, *The Irish Jurist* 3 (1968) 363. For the archive in general, see Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* 222.

posed to have *iudex esto*, the Greek has ξενοκρίται ἔστωσαν. Prof. Polotsky rendered the word by *peregrini iudices*. Prof. Seidl has approved the rendering (*SDHI* 33 (1967) 550 f.; *Studi in onore di G. Grosso* ii 345 ff.), in the sense 'judges for aliens'; he compares the Greek κριταί who are to deal with cases among Greeks in the fourth Cyrene Edict (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* 311).

Neither this meaning, 'judge for aliens', nor the other, 'imported judge', seems likely to fit **3016**, in which the judges are Roman citizens and return a verdict in Latin. But if they are a Roman institution, and concerned with a case of this kind, it would be tempting to think of them as *recuperatores*. There is some evidence to support this equivalence.

So far as I can discover, no regular Greek translation of *recuperator* is known. Seidl thought he had found one in PFamTebt. 24. 2 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνακτήσεως [τῶν ἀλλοτ]ρίου-μένων [(*Labeo*, 1965, pp. 37 ff.); this certainly answers the basic sense of the Latin. On the other hand, *CGL* iii 336. 44 f. has κριτήριον ξένον *iudicium peregrinum* and κριτήριον ξένον *recuperatorium*. ξενοκρίτης would then render not the Latin word, but the origin of the Roman institution as described by Aelius Gallus (i B.C.): 'reciperatio est, . . . cum inter populum et reges nationesque et civitates peregrinas lex convenit, quomodo per reciperatores reddantur res reciperenturque, resque privatas inter se persequantur' (Festus p. 342 L).

Recuperatores certainly occupied themselves with cases of *status*. Thus Claudius' oration BGU 611. 3 f. fixes their minimum age at 24, since they have to judge [*causas*] *servitutis libertatisque*. See B. Schmidlin, *Rekuperatorenverfahren* 86 ff. (The evidence, as might be expected, is confined to Italy and to the first century A.D.) Nothing is said about their numbers. But we might compare the provision of the *Lex Aelia Sentia* (Gaius i 20) for the manumission of slaves under thirty: they do not become citizens unless manumitted *vindicta* after proof of adequate motive before a *consilium* which, in the provinces, is to consist of twenty citizen *recuperatores* and to be convened on the last day of the *conventus*.[1]

The discussion is necessarily inconclusive, because the details of the actual case are not available. It is at least clear that these ξενοκρίται must be different from those of the Greek inscriptions. If they are *recuperatores*, we have interesting evidence for the survival of older Roman judicial forms in Egypt; and reason perhaps to reconsider the En Gedi formulary, which otherwise preserves strict Roman form, even though its users were not citizens.

The lower part of the papyrus, with the Latin text, is badly rubbed and stained. The readings offered for the Latin are for the most part very doubtful.

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[1] We have no mention of this *consilium* in Egypt, unless our text provides one. Contrast *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §§ 19 and 21.

→   (*m.*²) ὑπομνημ(ατιϲμῶν) ἡγεμόνοϲ

  ἔτουϲ ι̅α̅ Ἀντωνείνου καίϲαροϲ τοῦ κυρίου

    Παῦνι γ̅

  ἀναγνωϲθειϲῶν ἀποφάϲεων ξενοκρι-

5   τῶν Φλ(αουίου) Πίου, Ἰουλίου Μινερουᾶλιϲ,

    Μετειλίου Διδύμου, Βαβιδίου Ῥούφου,

    Κλ(αυδίου) Γεμίνου, Καϲϲίου Λιβερᾶλιϲ, Ἐκουι-

    τίου Κλ[α]υδιανοῦ, Ἰουλίου Πρόκλου,

    Ἰουλίου .ωρατου, Κα[. . Ἀ]πολλιναρίου,

10   Ἀλφείου Λόγγου, Φλ(αουίου) Δ[ιο]νυϲίου, Ο . . . ε

    . . . . . Ἀ]πολλινᾶριϲ, Ἰουλ[ίο]υ Μαξίμου,

    .]λιου Ἀμμωνίου τῶν ὑποτε[

    . . . .] mulier de qua agitur .[

      ].[. .]usa.octisadue[

15   ].. libertinaae..[

       ].lun.n.[

      ]nonuidet[

      ]...seru[

      ].usexaco.[

20   ]e.......sse[

      ]sa....f.uid[

       ]. Ἀπολλι[

     • • • •

1 υπομνη^μ 5 φλ· 7 κλ· 10 φλ·

'(*2nd hd.*) From the *commentarii* of the prefect. (*1st hd.*)
Year 11 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 3.
After the reading out of the decisions of the *xenokritai* Fl. Pius, Julius Minervalis, Metilius Didymus, Babidius Rufus, Cl. Geminus, Cassius Liberalis, Equitius Claudianus, Julius Proclus, Julius .oratus, ... Apollinaris, Alfius Longus, Fl. Dionysius, ... Apollinaris, Julius Maximus, ... Ammonius, as follows ... "... the woman who is the object of the case ..." ...'

6 Μετειλίου: for the Metilii, see Syme, *JRS*, 1968, p. 138.
 Βαβιδίου: Schulze, *Z. Gesch. Lat. Eigennamen* 132 n. 4.
 7 f. *Ἐκουιτίου*: Schulze, ib. 355; *nomen* of the emperor Probus, according to Aur. Victor *Ep.* 36. 2; Fl. Equitius was *cos. ord.* in 374.
 9 .ωρατου: the trace (assuming the first part of the ink to be the tip of the preceding υ) looks most like the junction of two obliques i.e. δ λ μ (less likely ν); but lacks the characteristic left-pointing apex. I find none of these attested as names.
 Κα[. .: presumably an abbreviation of Cassius.
 10 *Ἀλφείου*: cf. M. Alfius Coma, ex-signifer, BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140.
 10 f. Ο...ε[.....: not Οὐαλε[ρίου. ουελε might just be read, with the first ε much cramped, whether

as a mis-spelling, or as part of Velenius or Velesius; or better Οὐμε[ρίου, Umerius (see Schulze for these names).

11 ᾿Ιουλ[ίο]υ Μαξίμου: it is obviously likely that some at least of the judges are veterans; this man might be identified with the soldier who appears in BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140. But the name is not distinctive.

12 .]λιου: Αἰ]λίου looks too long.]αιου is not a possible reading.

υποτε[: the papyrus is broken after the ε. This was probably the line-end; but one cannot be sure that υποτε[τα| was not written.

13 Assuming that the scribe wrote υποτε|[ταγμένων, there will be room for some two letters before *mulier* (*si, an*), or for a short blank; if ὑποτε[τα|γμένων, some four letters (e.g. *quod*) or their equivalent.

mulier: u is quite substantial; of l only a point of ink from the horizontal; of i only a point from the top.

de qua agitur: for the phrase in verdicts, cf. *FIRA* iii 86. 9–10 'necessariam fuisse inspectionem aedificiorum et loci, de quibus aput me actum est' (decision of Senecio, sub-prefect of the fleet at Misenum); 164. 11 'eorum locorum, de quibus agitur, factam determinationem...' (decision of *arbiter ex compromisso*, i/ii A.D.).

14 Before *oe* apparently *m* or *n*. More than one articulation is possible: *et is adue*[; alternatively the woman's name might be (e.g. *Zoilo*)*us Amoetis* (daughter of Amois). If the former, perhaps]. Samo.

17 *non uidet*[*ur*?

21]sa: there seems to be an oblique stroke above and to the right of *a*.

3017. Edict of Prefect

Plate IX

2 1B.94/J (b)   9·5 × 21·5 cm.   *c.* A.D. 176/7

This edict was copied on the back of the petition **2672B**. The copy is a careless and illiterate one; the scribe often corrected himself, overwriting or blotting out his mistakes; two insertions (4 and 12) are in blacker ink, perhaps by a different writer. The hand has literary pretensions: in the manner of Roberts, *GLH* 23b (A.D. 260/270), but less elaborate.

The edict itself dates from the prefecture of Ti. Pactumeius Magnus, A.D. 176–7. This copy must be at least forty years later, for the petition on the front was submitted in A.D. 218; it is written in brown ink, which would normally suggest a date in the late third century or after (Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 22 and n.).

The prefect refers to petitions which have been answered with a subscription or a letter of the form ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος. He rules (lines 1–13) that such petitioners must present themselves within ten days of receiving the reply; otherwise it becomes void. The same time-limit applies to the 'registering' (ἐνγράφειν) of such subscriptions (13 ff.).

The general background to this measure is clear. The petitioners are, as usual, present in Alexandria (or some other assize town); they receive their reply on the spot; they have no physical difficulty in presenting themselves within ten days of receiving it. This personal attendance in town could be very prolonged and inconvenient (e.g. **486**); and it might be thought that Magnus designed his measure to speed justice and relieve the petitioner. If so, the purpose is well concealed; the whole thing reads as a reproof, not as a concession.

The details of the corrupt and damaged text are often very doubtful. In particular, we need to know the implications of ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος (5 note) and of the procedure called ἐνγράφειν (13 ff. note).

↓   Τίτος Πακτουμή[.]ιος Μάγνος ἔπαρ-
       χος Αἰγύπτου λαίγει[[ν]]· εἴ τινες ὑπο-
       γραφὰς ἔτυχον δότες βιβλείδια
       εἴ ‵ἐ′πιcτολὰc τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον

5   "ἔντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος" ἢ μετὰ
       τὸ διάταγμα τοῦτο τύχοιεν, ἴcτω-
       caν ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμε-
       ρῶν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπογραφὴν
       ἢ τὴν ἐπιcτολὴν ἐντυχ . . ται

10   οὔθ' ὁτιοῦν καρπώcεcθαι πρὸc τὸ
       .πέχειν ἢ νομίμην ἀκολουθίαν
       ἢ ‵δε′δικαcμένον cυντελειαν ἢ εἰc-
       πράττειν ὀφειλήματοιν[.] . . . . μέν-
       τοι καὶ ὑπογραφὰς τοιαύτας ἐνγρά-

15   ψωcι διαγνώcομαι .[] . μὲν ἐντὸc
       τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡριcμένου τῶν ι ἡμε-
       ρῶν ἐνγράψωcι ἴcτωcαν τὰc ὑ-
       πογραφὰc αὐτοῖc ‵ε′ἰc οὐδὲν χρη-
       cίμους ἐcομένας [κ]α[ὶ] τοῦ λοιποῦ

20   οὔτωc πρα . . [. . .]ν[.] . . . . .κα μηδὲ
       . . .αρ.η . .[. . . . . .] . καὶ ἔλαβον
       .[.] . .[.] . . . .[.] . . .ιο . .ητ . .
                   ] . . . . . .
                   ] . . . .

25   ] . . . . . .
                   ] . . . . . .
             ] .[. . . .] . . . . . .
  . .[   ] . . .[. . . .] . . . . . .
  τ[   ] . . .τ .[. . . .] . . . . . .

30   ] . .αχ[. . . .] . . . .
          ] . . .θεο[. . . .] . . . .ν
        ] .ω . . . . .φ . . .[]

1 πακτουμη⟦.⟧ϊος   2 l. λέγει   3 l. δόντες   βιβλ: ι written over υ   4 ει: l. ῇ   τον: ν written over a τ   9 -cτoλην: η written over a ν   10 -εcθαι: ε suprascript over deleted α 17 ἴcτω-   19 εcoμ-: ε corr. from some straight-backed letter

'Titus Pactumeius Magnus, prefect of Egypt, says:

If any persons, on handing in petitions, have received subscriptions or letters of this form, namely "Submit the case to me before the tribunal", or if any persons should receive (such subscriptions) after this edict, they must know that if they do not submit the case to me within ten days of receiving the subscription or the letter, they will reap no benefit as regards (securing? delaying?) either due legal procedures or execution of judgement or as regards recovering debts ... Further, if they register even such subscriptions, I will settle them within the above fixed period of ten days; ⟨but if they do not⟩ register them ⟨within the ten days⟩, they must know that the subscriptions will be of no benefit to them, and for the future likewise ...'

1 The known limits of this prefecture arc April/August 176, and 28 March 177 (*BASP* iv 100).

3–4 To judge from 8 f., ἐπιcτoλάc is linked with ὑπoγραφάc; δό⟨ν⟩τεc βιβλείδια intervenes awkwardly (misplaced by the scribe?). τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον presumably applies to both nouns.

5 ἐντυχέ μoι πρὸ βήματοc: I have found this phrase only once elsewhere: PFouad 24. 1–4 Ἀντώνιος Διονύcιοc ὁ ἱερεὺc [καὶ ἀρχιδικαcτὴc εἶ]πεν· καὶ πρὸ βήματόc μoι ἔντυ[χε (report of proceedings, *c.* A.D. 144; the hearing recorded in lines 5 ff. no doubt results from this instruction)—here spoken, not written. Similarly the petitioner in PMich. IX 534 reports (10) ἐνέτυχον πρὸ βήματοc.

πρὸ βήματοc by itself is commoner. Reports of Proceedings may begin with a location-formula of the type ἐν Ἀρcινοΐτῃ πρὸ βήματοc (PAmh. 80. 7, PStrass. 5. 7, 41. 1, 179. 4, PThead. 15. 2); others have ἐπὶ βήματοc in the same context (PTebt. 569, PFouad 21. 4 etc.); more specifically ἀναγνωcθέντοc τοῦ βιβλειδίου πρὸ βήματος (237 v 13). Similarly in PSI 1357. 5 the strategus receives instructions from the prefect πρὸ βήματοc αὐτοῦ.

One of two contrasts might be implied. (1) The petitioner appears in person (does not simply apply in writing): see PFouad 24. 2 note. (2) *Pro tribunali* might be opposed to *de plano*, cf. Modestinus in *Dig.* 27. 1. 13. 6–11: persons who seek to be excused service as *tutor* or *curator* must apply within a fixed period, ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐντὸc τῆc προθεcμίαc ἐντυχεῖν μόνον ... χρὴ δὲ διαμαρτύραcθαι (Kruger: μιᾷ μαρτ. MSS.) πρὸ βήματος ἢ ἄλλωc ἐπὶ ὑπομνημάτων. δύναται δὲ καὶ βιβλίδια ἐπιδοῦναι χαμᾶθεν, ὡc oἱ αὐτoί φαcιν αὐτoκράτoρεc (Severus and Caracalla): the point here is, at a formal session of the court. The same notion, I think, lies behind two other formulae: ἔντυχέ μoι δικάζοντι which appears as subscription to petitions at PAchm. 8. 33, **1558** 9, PStrass. 196. 12; and **2343** 7 f. κατὰ τὴν ὑπoγραφὴν ... παραγγείλα[c] ἐντυχεῖν coι ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπoμνημά[των, which illustrates Modestinus and in which the crucial issue is again that the application should appear in the formal record (see PBeattyPanop. 1. 100–1 note).

Two further questions: why is the time-limit imposed? there is nothing strictly comparable in the material assembled by Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 179–81. And what kinds of cases are involved? No surviving petition, so far as I see, has precisely this form of subscription. Lines 11–13 should give some indication of scope. But what is common to the three situations specified?

9 ἐντυχ..ται: the meaning required is clear, but I cannot find a satisfactory reading. ἐντύχονται (l. -ων-) is an unwanted middle. ἐντύχη{ι}ται (l. -τε) is an unwelcome second person. We expect ἐντύχωcιν.

10 ff. With the readings oὔθ' ὁτιοῦν (Rea) and ἀπέχειν (Youtie), this difficult passage will make some general sense. The petitioners have various objects: (1) legal proceedings in due form; (2) execution of a judgement previously given; (3) exaction of debts owing to them. This is presumably all normal business. (1) might refer to the initiation of an action by ὑπόμνημα or παραγγελία; for (2) cf. PRossGeorg. II. 20, where the petitioner asks to have τὰ κριθέντα enforced; for (3) see M. *Chr.* 62. But for all three purposes application must be made within the ten-day limit.

There is a palaeographic difficulty at the beginning of line 11. The first letter or letters has been corrected. At some stage the scribe may have written ϋπ-, for the trema is visible; but the sense excludes it. The easiest reading is αιπ-, corrected to επ-. ἐπέχειν makes sense of a kind (the petitioner seeks to suspend legal action begun against him, or penalties already decided), but limits the prefect's reform to a narrow range of cases. ἀπέχειν fits the context best; and the reading ⟦.ι⟧απ- is at least possible.

11 ἀκολουθίαν: due legal process (Steinwenter, *JJP* 4 (1950) 219 ff.). Thus SB 9622. 12 ἐβουλόμην τότ[ε τῇ] τῶν ν[ό]μων ἀκολουθίᾳ χρήϲαϲθαι.

12 δεδικαϲμένον ϲυντελειαν: the scribe wrote either ϲυντέλειαν or ϲυντελείᾳ[[ν]]; before that he presumably intended δεδικαϲμένην or δεδικαϲμένων. ϲυντέλεια in the documents normally refers to tax-payments: is δεδικαϲμένη ϲυντέλεια a payment which the court has decided one must make? But the parallel with νομίμη ἀκολουθία rather suggests δεδικαϲμένων ϲυντέλειαν as 'the carrying out of the court's decision'.

12 f. If εἰϲπράττειν is parallel to ἀπέχειν, the sentence can end intelligibly with ἢ εἰϲπράττειν ὀφείλημα; the only doubt of reading is that οφει- might be simply οφε-. But this leaves grave difficulties with what follows.

13 ff. The fixed point is μέντοι, which seems certain. Before it I can find no plausible reading. οφειλημα is clear; then apparently τ (the left half of the cross-bar missing in a gap), ο, ι (an isolated upright); then ν; then a hole which might have contained one letter; then a single upright (ι? ρ? υ?); then a long and a short vertical below a horizontal (as of τρ); then what looks like a blotted τι.

For the general sense, there are two initial difficulties:

1. The grammar clearly fails at some point in lines 15–19. I suggest as the simplest solution that the scribe omitted some words by parablepsy:

(*a*) assume that the traces between διαγνώϲομαι and μέν are fortuitous; then διαγνώϲομαι μὲν ἐντὸϲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡριϲμένου τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν ⟨χρόνου· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐντὸϲ τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν⟩ ἐγράψωϲι κτλ.;

(*b*) read the traces after διαγνώϲομαι as ἐ̣[ά]ν̣, and write: διαγνώϲομαι ἐ̣[ὰ]ν̣ μὲν ἐντὸϲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡριϲμένου τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν ⟨χρόνου ἐγράψωϲι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐγράψωϲι ἐντὸϲ τῶν ῑ ἡμερῶν⟩, ἵϲτωϲαν κτλ.

The second accounts better for the slight but visible traces, and for the position of μέν.

2. The meaning of ἐγράφειν is crucial; but I have found no parallel context. In general, we might expect 'enter' (in a list or record) or 'register'. But how does this apply to ὑπογραφαί? Is it a matter of writing, as opposed to appearing in person (ἐντυγχάνειν)? or of approaching the prefect privately, as opposed to πρὸ βήματοϲ? or (as Prof. Youtie suggests) of putting one's case down on the calendar of the prefect's court?

I had taken μέντοι (13) to introduce a contrast, and καί (14) to emphasize a concession. Petitioners who receive a subscription of the specified form must apply (i.e. appear in person) within ten days. However, even such petitioners may apply in writing rather than in person; but the same time-limit obtains.

Prof. Youtie suggests that μέντοι introduces an addition, not a contrast. The petitioner will have to register his subscription, in order to get a place in the prefect's judicial schedule. Magnus wishes to make it clear how his time-limit applies to this preliminary.

20 After πρα a flat-topped letter; υ might be τ. The sense may be οὕτω πράττειν ἔγνωκα, but I cannot find a reading.

31–2 The edict is likely to have ended with a date. Pactumeius Magnus held office in the joint reign of M. Aurelius and Commodus; his successor had arrived before the end of that reign (*Ann. Ép.*, 1961, no. 280, see **2760** 1 note). In 31 θεο[ῦ (perhaps καὶ θεο[ῦ) is a possible reading; but I cannot fit what follows either to Marcus or to Commodus.

3018. PRIVILEGES OF PAEANISTAE

No inventory number   12 × 15·5 cm.   Third century

The top of a column, written in a good hand of chancery type; incomplete to the left and at the foot, but nearly complete at the right (as is shown by the space after Καῖϲαρ in 2, and by the spreading final ν in 3). The back is blank.

The papyrus contains two items: (*a*) 1–10 a rescript of Severus and Caracalla; (*b*) 11 ff. a letter of Hadrian. Both concern themselves with the privileges of Paeanistae.

Such collections of evidential material are common: thus PPhil. 1, on the privileges of weavers. Notice especially M. *Chr.* 374 (Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 54): a rescript of Severus and Caracalla about *longi temporis praescriptio*, followed by two earlier decisions on the same subject.

(*a*) bears the Latin date 7 December, and confirms an earlier rescript of Pharmouthi (April) 200. This previous decision belongs to the series which Severus issued during his Egyptian visit (PColApokr. p. 27); like the Columbia apokrimata, it was posted in the stoa of the gymnasium in Alexandria. The rescript of 7 December presumably appeared somewhere outside Egypt. The Emperors confirm some concessions made to Paeanistae; the details are missing.

(*b*) is a letter, in which Hadrian had ordered that Paeanistae should enjoy ἀτέλεια and other privileges. The prescript 12–14 is, so far as I can discover, unique; it seems unlikely to have been addressed to an Egyptian audience.

Paeanistae occur occasionally in inscriptions (see E. W. Handley, *Menander's Dyskolos* pp. 172–4). In Egypt they appear at Panopolis (SB 1743), and at Karnak (paeanistae of Serapis and Augustus); at Rome in A.D. 146 (IG xiv 1084: paeanistae of Serapis and the Emperors) and again under Severus (IG xiv 1059); at Piraeus in the earlier third century (SIG³ 1110: paeanistae of Asclepius of Munychia). **3018** gives the first evidence for their privileged status. The claim no doubt had the same basis as that of the Dionysiac Artists, who cite favourable decisions of Claudius, Hadrian, Severus, and Alexander Severus (**2476, 2610**); both groups had ties with the imperial cult. The privileges themselves included some form of tax-exemption and some form of immunity from state-service (4 and 15, notes).

Hadrian on his accession confirmed the privileges of philosophers, rhetors, *grammatici*, and doctors (*Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 8). Many other rescripts of Severus concern themselves with exemption from liturgy. This may reflect a general second-century trend—the erosion of privileged status (N. Lewis, *Actes Varsovie* 70).

→   Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Cεπτίμιος C]εουῆρος Εὐσεβὴς Περτίναξ

     Cεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγις]τος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ

     Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβὴς] Cεβαστὸς Cαραπίωνι Διδύμου

           ]ου῾ρ῾γιας ἔχουσι φυλάττειν ανμ[

5   ].εν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ γυμνασίου η૬ Φαρμ(οῦθι) ι.[

        ].το.[...].αιων Ἀρσινοειτῶν παιανισταῖς δι[

       ]εχρ.[...].θρησκεύεσθαι καὶ κατὰ ταυτα χρη[

        ]εθει[...] καὶ μηδὲν καινουργεῖσθαι. τὰ γὰρ [

         ] cυγ[κε]χωρημένα ἀκωλύτως μεμ[

10   π]ροετέθη πρὸ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν Δεκενβρίω[ν

]　　　ἄλλο θεοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ　　　[

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἁδριανὸς C]εβαστὸς τοῖς κατ[ὰ τ]ὴν ἐπαρχεί[αν

cτ]ρατηγοῖς Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις [

]..κουcι χαίρειν. ἐπέταξα παιανιcτ.[

15　　　　　　　]cπρακτουc παντὸς τελέcματος κ[

]ουc ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων [...].[....].ε[

.　　　.　　　.　　　.　　　.

4 φυλατ'τειν　　　5]. descending diagonal as of a, κ　φαρ⁻　　　7 .[upright　]. top of upright
16 ἴδιων

4]ουργιαc: υπ]? λειτ]? At the end μ[seems certain, though only its left half remains; not e.g. ἀνα[φαιρετ-. Some privilege is to be maintained, as e.g. W. Chr. 156. 35, perhaps in accord with a previous rescript (5 κατὰ τὰ προτεθέντ]α ἐν τῇ cτοᾷ).

5 Φαρμ(οῦθι): two other rescripts (M. Chr. 375. 12, 1405 12 f.) belong to Pharmouthi, the last attested month of Severus' stay in Egypt. At the end, the trace allows any numeral except perhaps α and δ.

6 το.[: an upright.].αιων: an oblique tail as of a κ λ μ (or possibly χ): I find no verbal parallel to support ῾Ρω]μαίων or ἀρ]χαίων. τ]ὰ τοῖ[c] - - - παιανιcταῖc δι[δόμενα would make a suitable clause.

7 e.g. μ]έχρι [νῦ]ν θρηcκεύεcθαι; then κατὰ ταῦτα or ταυτά. The letter of Severus 2610 4 describes the Artists of Dionysus as ταῖc πρὸc τὸν] Διόνυcον θρηιcκ[είαιc] ἀνακειμέ[νου]c.

8 E.g. τ]έθει[κεν,] ἔθει[μον.

8–9 E.g. τὰ γὰρ [ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων] cυγ[κε]χωρημένα (e.g. 2476 9 f.); this gives a line-length about equal to that in 1 and 3. At the end, some part of μεμένηκε?

10 f. The Roman date. There is room for the consular year at the beginning of 11 (in short form, as e.g. PGiss. 40 ii 12); indeed, if the whole line had been blank, we might expect the heading of the next item to be centred.

12–14 I find no parallel for this prescript. ἐπαρχεί[αν might be Egypt, and cτ]ρατηγοῖc the nome-strategi; Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις can hardly apply to strategi, but even as a separate group it is extraordinary (one expects 'Greeks and Egyptians'). And why should Hadrian address lesser officials, and omit the prefect? There is no guarantee that the letter referred originally to Egypt; Asia Minor too had strategi (Magie, RRAM ii 1508 f.).

14]..κουcι: cf. M. Chr. 374. 19 περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖc ἔθνεcιν οἰκούντων, SEG ix 8. 79 ff. (Cyrene Edict V) πᾶcιν τοῖc τὰc ἐπαρχήαc κατοικοῦcιν.]ο[ι]κοῦcι could be read.

15 Perhaps ἀνει]cπράκτουc (ἀ. περὶ ... τελεcμάτων 1123 14 etc.); with e.g. 16 ἀπαρενοχλήτ]ουc. Then read παιανιcτά[c in 14.

3019. DECISION OF SEVERUS

31 4B. 12/B (1–2) a　　　　　　　5·1 × 16 cm.　　　　　　　9 March 200

This text is written across the fibres on the back of a column of accounts. The clumsy hand is not likely to be much later than the earlier third century.

What we have is an extract (line 13) from proceedings before the emperor Septimius Severus and his consilium, in Alexandria, on 9 March 200. The emperor received an embassy from the Egyptians (that is, from the Greeks of the metropoleis), who had

communal petitions to make. One of these petitions, about swineherds, is cited; the imperial decision perhaps follows at the foot of the column (21 n.); the details of both are obscure.

The text has two points of particular interest: the procedure illustrated; and the source and nature of the copy.

Embassies often travelled to present the requests of their communities (**3020** i 4). This one is remarkable, in that it apparently represented some or all of the inhabitants of the *chora*. Its reception adds a new facet to Severus' Egyptian visit; so far the evidence for his administrative activity has consisted entirely of rescripts issued to individuals.

The copy is in Greek; but the date takes the Roman form. This points to a Latin original. The most likely such source for this record of proceedings is clearly the imperial *commentarii*. Of these no guaranteed fragment survives. But it is a good guess that the Dmeir inscription is an authentic extract from them. The inscription (*Syria* 23 (1942) 178 f., *SEG* xvii 759) records a hearing before Caracalla in 216. The preamble begins: 'Sabino et Anulino cos., [VI] Kal. Iunias, Antio[chiae, Imp. Caesar] M. Aurel. Antoninus Pius Fel. Aug. Par. Max. Brit. Max. Ge[rm. Max.] cum sal(utatus) a praef(ectis) praet(orio) e(minentissimis) v(iris) item amicis et princ(ipibus) offic(i)or(um) sed(isset) in aud(itorio), admitti iussit Aur. Carzeum Sergi defen(sorem) Go[har(ienorum)'. In what follows, the speeches are all in Greek, but the framework is Latin: 'Aristaenetus d(ixit), Antoninus Aug. d(ixit).'

The Dmeir inscription and **3019** have an obvious similarity of outline: consular date; the emperor takes his seat in a particular building; he orders a petitioner to be admitted. **3019** differs in some respects: (*a*) the 'Latin' parts are rendered into Greek; (*b*) the emperor is called καῖcαρ, not by the long or short form of his Roman titulature; (*c*) matter is omitted in line 13; (*d*) the petition is summarized, not presented in direct speech. Our text, then, if it does derive from the *commentarii*, has been adapted and abridged. Since the copy is an amateur one, made presumably for someone with a single interest in the pigmen, this is not surprising.

There are more consequences for the history of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. It seems to me quite certain that the earliest pieces (those concerned with events of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and copied not long after those events) derive quite closely from authentic records of proceedings: see the embassies to Augustus in **2435** verso and **3020**. Later examples are more suspect, because their framework is more elaborate and their speeches more polished; they have even been thought to be entirely fictional. **3019** can hardly be part of the *Acta*. But it may be taken to show that, in Alexandria at least, records of imperial proceedings were accessible; and to illustrate the sort of adaptation which even a non-partisan excerptor might produce.

↓　　　.ογῳ

　　　Cεουήρῳ καὶ Οὐικτωρεί-

　　　νῳ ὑπάτοις πρὸ ζ εἰδῶν

　　　Μαρτίων ἐν Ἀλεξαν-

5　　δρέᾳ. καῖσαρ κατίσας

　　　ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ με-

　　　τὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶ`ν′

　　　εἰς τὸ συμβούλειον κε-

　　　κλημένων ἐκέλευ-

10　　cεν εἰσκληθῆναι πρέ`c′-

　　　βεις Αἰγυπτίων τὰς

　　　κοινὰς ἀξιώσεις προ-

　　　φέροντας. μὲ`τ″ ἄλλα· ἀ-

　　　ξιώσαντος Διονυσί-

15　　ου περὶ τῶν cυοφορ-

　　　βῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺς γε-

　　　οργοὺς ἤδη γενέc-

　　　θαι πρὸς τ[ὴν cυγκο-

　　　μιδὴν τ[

20　　ηδητικ.[

　　　.α.[.]ει.[

　　　αcε..[

2 ουϊκ-　　　3 ὑπατοις　　　5 l. καθίcας　　　16–17 l. γεωργοὺς

'. . . Consulship of Severus and Victorinus, 7th day before the Ides of March, at Alexandria. Caesar took his seat in the court-house with his friends and those who had been summoned to the council, and ordered that the envoys of the Egyptians, who were putting forward their common requests, should be called in. After other matter: Dionysius having made a request about the swineherds, because the farmers (?) were already engaged in bringing in the harvest . . . Caesar said (?): ". . .".'

1 .ογῳ: o is a right-hand arc; there is a spot of ink within, but apparently not enough for θ or φ. χῳ might perhaps be πμ; but there is no trace of any following letter. Before ο a descender; this was the first letter, if the line began in normal alignment; but a trace to the left, on the edge of the papyrus, may not be accidental. I can make nothing of this. It is not a file number; nor apparently part of the consular date.

2–4 The date is 9 March 200: towards the end of Severus' stay in Alexandria as the dated rescripts reveal it (PColApokr. pp. 27 and 30).

6 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ: nothing is known of this building, except that it was in the centre of the city (Strabo 17. 1. 10).

6–9 The consilium consists of two groups. The amici were part of the court, and travelled with the

emperor; on Severus' friends see Crook, *Consilium Principis* 84–5. The rest were specially summoned: probably (as Dr. Millar suggests) local notables, whether Romans (praetorian tribunes etc.) or Alexandrians. A similar distinction is made in the *Acta Athenodori* (Musurillo X 61–3), where the emperor summons senators and *amici*.

11 Αἰγυπτίων: includes the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the *chora*: see 2664 3 note; PColApokr. line 6, where Alexandrians and·Egyptians seem to make up the whole population of the country.

12 κοινάς: as opposed to those of individuals, who had been presenting their petitions in court nome by nome (705 36 ff.).

15 ff. Pigs were an important foodstuff, especially for the provisioning of Alexandria (W. *Chr.* 428; PGiss. 40 ii 18), especially too with the court in residence. But what connection have they with the harvest? (*a*) Pigs had at one time been used for the threshing, Hdt. 2. 14. 2 and PEdgar 49; Schnebel found no evidence for this practice in the Roman period (*Landwirtschaft* 174). (*b*) Pigs might be a hazard to the harvest: in the petition BGU 757 (A.D. 12) Heracles complains that two swineherds have turned their herd on to his field and fed them with the new sheaves.

A situation is easily constructed: fodder will be at its scarcest at the beginning of the harvest; the pigmen, under pressure to provide, will be at their least scrupulous. But most of this would have to come in lines 19–20; and it gives no obvious background for a repeated ἤδη (17, 20).

18–19 cυγκο]μιδήν: c. τῶν καρπῶν PPreis. 4. 10, elsewhere absolute.

20 ηδητικ.[: ἤδη again? The final trace is an upright; perhaps the trace of a junction at mid height (η, ρ).

21 .α.[.]ει.[: the letter after ει is π or τ. Probably καἰ[c(αρ)] εἶπ[εν or καἰ]ςαρ εἶπ[εν: the imperial decision must come somewhere in these last three lines, unless the text extended to a second column.

22 αce.[: most like αcεκμ[.

3020. Letter of Augustus and Proceedings of Embassy

This piece contains, in fr. 1, the upper part of two columns, each more or less at full width; fr. 2 comes from the head of a further column. The back of both fragments is blank. The hand is an ugly, irregular half-cursive of early Roman type (probably the same throughout, though its appearance alters after ii 7, when the scribe changed to a much sharper pen). Characteristic letters are: α with both pointed and rounded bow; ε with detached cross-bar; divided κ; deep μ; ω in three movements, middle stroke slanting to the left. Compare 2435 and the dated parallels listed in the introduction. Writing like this is not likely to be later than the mid first century.

The scribe has vulgar spellings at fr. 1 i 6 λελοιπηκέναι, ii 7 πόλεος, ii 8 ἀπολλωγηςαμ-. There is no punctuation.

Fr. 1 col. i gives the beginning of a letter from Augustus to Alexandria; the letter, dated 10/9 B.C., reports an audience given to an Alexandrian embassy. Col. ii is a protocol: proceedings of an Alexandrian embassy before an emperor. No doubt it is the same embassy in both. The reply to its representations, and the representations themselves, were copied side by side, or perhaps consecutively (ii 1 note).

The letter is of standard type: Augustus replies to a Sardian or a Cnidian embassy in much the same terms (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* nos. 99 ii and 312); similarly Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, PJews 1912. Only the preliminary clichés survive. The envoys had sought out the emperor in Gaul, and presented their instructions; in

particular, they rehearsed the city's grievances of past years. The emperor replies (perhaps) that he had already considered the problem.

When col. ii begins, the exegete has taken the floor. He starts his speech by introducing the envoys; they have divided the business of the embassy among themselves, Theodorus to speak about Egypt, Harpocrates about the Idios Logos, the exegete himself about the city; they have not come to defend themselves, but to require . . .

This all belongs in the context of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Two pieces are especially relevant: **2435** and PSI 1160. Both, to judge from the hand, were copied about the same time as **3020**.

2435 verso records another audience given by Augustus (in A.D. 12/13) to Alexandrian envoys.[1] Here too the hand is crude, and the spelling shaky.

With the *Boule* papyrus, PSI 1160 (Musurillo, *Acta* I; *CPJ* ii 150), there is a link of matter. The speaker there lists the advantages of a *boule*: among them, protection εἴ τις καταβαροῖτο παρὰ λόγον πραττόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδί[ο]υ λόγου ἤ τινος πράκτορος ἀνθρώπους διασείοντος. The Idios Logos is again complained of in **3020** fr. 1 ii 6. This is historically intelligible. We know that Augustus introduced a comprehensive rule-book, the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*; and the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (SB 8444. 41 ff.) gives a picture of the activities of informers attached to the department. It is likely enough that a stricter interpretation and more energetic pursuit of τὰ εἰς καίσαρα πίπτειν ὀφείλοντα (Strabo 17. 1. 12), after the general chaos of the late Ptolemies, would greatly embarrass many prominent Alexandrians. **3020** refers to these early embarrassments; so probably does PSI 1160 (for the date, see *CPJ* ii p. 27). The edict shows that the situation persisted.

3020, **2435**, and PSI 1160 form a group. Two of them, and probably all three, contain Augustan material. All three were copied at a date very little later than the events described. **2435** and PSI 1160 are headed with a file reference, which implies an official source;[2] **3020** juxtaposes its proceedings with what has all the appearance of an authentic imperial letter. There is everything to be said for taking this earliest group of *Acta* as strictly documentary.

Later *Acta* no doubt expanded and were coloured with time; the existence of recensions shows this. But the documentary basis remains. **3020** confirms that extravagant titles and bald assertiveness are not always fictional (fr. 1 ii 1 and 8); **3019** shows how material could be obtained, and how it was adapted.

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[1] The recto records Germanicus' reception in Alexandria. We now have a name for such documents: ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν (2725 21).

[2] Turner indeed argues that PSI 1160 is translated from a Latin original (*JRS* 45 (1955) 119).

Fr. 1

Col. i

→ αὐ]τοκράτωρ καίcαρος cεβαcτὸc ἀρχιε[ρ]ϵὺc
δη]μαρχικῆc ἐξουcίαc τὸ ιδ′ αὐτοκράτωρ
τὸ ι]β′ Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμωι χαίρειν· οὓc
ἐπ]έμψατε πρέcβειc ἐλθόντεc εἰc Γαλατείαν
5 πρ]όc με τάc [τ]ε ἄλλαc ἐντολὰc ὑμῶν ἀπέ-
δο]cαν κα[ὶ τ]ὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμᾶc λελοιπηκέ-
να]ι ἐν τοῖ[c ἔ]μπροcθε[ν] ετϵ ινηδηλωcαν
..].[........]ωι πρό[τε]ρον εἰ τοὺc ἡμετε-
ρ-   c. 20   ]ειν τηcδεο...[.
10   ]ν καταλεξ[..
                        πρε]cβέων οιc....[.
                      ] ἐξηγητη.[

. . . . .

Col. ii

1 ὁ ἐξηγητήc· Καῖcαρ ἀνείκητε ἥρωc ουτοι.[...
Ἀλεξανδρείων πρέcβειc ἡμᾶc δε
οι.[.]..[..].ϵμεριcάμεθα τὴν πρεcβϵ[ίαν
υ.[.]...υ ἔκ[α]cτοc ἡμῶν δυνατόc εcτ[...
5 α[..].. Θεόδωροc ὑπὲρ τῆc Αἰγύπτου α[....
Α[..].οκρατηc ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου θε..[....
...].ϵυc ον ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆc πόλεοc και.[....
....]μϵν οὐκ ἀπολλωγηιcαμϵνο[..].[.]..[....
........].μενοι δε cου τ.[].[
10 ....].ηc αντιλημ[
..........].ωντων ημϵ[
..........]....αcοcα.[
..........]....α....c[

. . . . .

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 l. καῖcαρ   6–7 l. λελυπηκέναι   8 l. ῆ   9 ...[: back and base of circular letter; then perhaps shallow base curve, as of c etc.; then point of ink at half line-height   11 ....[: horizontal level with top of c, perhaps point at line-level below; top of tall upright; tops of two more uprights   12 .[: curved back as of o or c

Fr. 1 Col. ii 1 .[: rounded back as of ε θ ο ϲ ω　　　3 .[: upright sloping strongly upwards to right]..[: high horizontal, trace of upright below; upper left quadrant of circle (perhaps with descending cross-bar, i.e. ε)　　　4 .[: upright　　　]...: tip of low horizontal; descender; curved base as of ϲ etc. 5]..: descending oblique joins upright at middle height　　　6]. : high horizontal joining upright (π or τ)　　　7]. : horizontal joining ε at middle height　　　ϲ.ρ: high horizontal, perhaps trace of upright below　　l. πόλεως　　　.[: horizontal as of τ　　　8 l. ἀπολογηϲαμενο[　]..[: low curve and cross-bar as of ε or θ; foot of upright　　　9 τ.[: left-hand arc as of ο　　　].[: upper curve as of ο or ϲ 11]. : high horizontal as of τ　　　12].....: second is lower curve of ο or ϲ; then upright with traces above to left (υ ?); then ε or θ; then point at line-level, and junction like right side of η or π .[: tip as of τ

Fr. 2

1

].[.]..[]ων[

]φεν.ακ...[

].....ντα[

]...ν.α...[

5　].．[.]....α.[

].[..].[.]..ϲ.[

]..αν...ου.[

]...

·　　·　　·　　·

Fr. 2 1]..[: probably lower half of η: then upright and traces of another, sloping up from left to right (e.g. ημων[)　　　2 ...[: first is ο or ω　　　4 ν.α: long top joining slanted upright (τ?χ?) ...[: first is sloping top as of τ　　　5].[: first is right-angle, perhaps γ　　　]...: first is top of upright: then π or τ: fourth perh. λ　　　α.[: ν[or λ.[　　　6].[.]: curving leg as of η, π　　　7 ...ου.[: flat base; before ο perhaps κ or .ϲ; after υ back of round letter (δοκουϲ[?)

Col. i 'Imperator Caesar Augustus Pontifex Tribuniciae Potestatis XIV Imperator XII to the people of the Alexandrians, greetings. The envoys whom you sent came to me in Gaul and delivered your other commissions and also informed me of the things which seem to have aggrieved you in previous years . . .'

Col. ii 'The Exegete: "Caesar, unconquered hero, these (are?) the envoys of the Alexandrians; and we (?) . . . have divided up the embassy among ourselves (according to the subjects?) about which each of us is able . . . Theodorus about Egypt . . . Harpocrates (?) about the Idios Logos . . . I about the city . . . not to defend ourselves (but to require?) of you (your imperial?) intervention . . .'

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 καίϲαροϲ: simple error for καῖϲαρ.

ἀρχιε[ρ]εύϲ: there is no space for μέγιϲτοϲ. So e.g. the letter to Sardis, Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* 99 ii.

2 τὸ ιδ′: 1 July 10 B.C. to 30 June 9 B.C.

3 τὸ ι]β′: the remaining trace of the numeral seems at first sight to be an iota. But (a) this leaves the line a little short; (b) trib. pot. XIV should correspond to imp. XII or XIII (Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* i 45); and XIV itself cannot be emended, because it fits exactly with the visit to Gaul (4 note). I therefore take the trace to be the right side of a cursive beta; the point of ink visible on the broken edge to the left must then be the tip of the other side.

Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμωι: Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει PJews 1912. 15 f., letter of Claudius, and PUG inv.

8562 v., letter of Nero (see *SDHI* 36 (1970) 414 f.); something equally brief in damaged letters of Gaius and of Trajan (Musurillo, *Acta* III iii 27; **3022** 4). Greek cities are normally addressed with the formula ἄρχουϲι βουλῇ δήμῳ or ἄρχουϲι βουλῇ: thus Sardis and Cnidus in letters of Augustus (Ehrenberg and Jones 99 ii and 312); Antinoopolis in letters of various emperors (PStrass. 130; PAnt. 191); the Egyptian metropoleis after Severus (e.g. CPHerm. 121. 8). But Alexandria is singular, and the form of address emphasizes the fact: no *archontes*, no *boule*. For the spelling in -εἰων, see Mayser I² i (ed. Schmoll, 1970) 43.

4 εἰϲ Γαλατείαν: Dio 54. 36. 4 and Orosius 6. 21. 22 mention the visit of Augustus to Gaul, apparently in 10 B.C. The Alexandrian envoys travelled until they caught up with him: cf. Millar, *JRS* 56 (1966) 163.

For the general outline, cf. the letter to Sardis: οἱ πρέϲβειϲ ὑμῶν . . . ϲυνέτυχον ἐν Ῥώμῃ μοι καὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ψήφιϲμα ἀπέδοϲαν δι' οὗ τά τε δόξαντα ὑμεῖν περὶ ὑμῶν δηλοῦντεϲ καὶ ϲυνήδεϲθε κτλ.

7 The simplest reading would be ἐν τοῖ[ϲ ἔ]μπροϲθε[ν] ἔτεϲιν ἠδήλωϲαν (l. ἐδήλ-).

ἔτεϲιν: there is a vertical trace below ϲ to the left; and a higher short vertical seems to close it on the right. Perhaps the scribe wrote ετειν, and corrected ιν to ϲι.

ἠδήλωϲαν: perhaps for ἐδήλ-. (A mis-spelling; the phenomenon of double augment is too rare to make a good explanation, see Mayser 1. 2. 94.) The alternatives are: (*a*) to write ᾗ or ᾗ δηλώϲαν[τεϲ; but I see no construction; (*b*) to assume corruption: Turner suggests ἤδ⟨η ἐδ⟩ήλωϲαν (cf. 8 f. note).

8 f. Assume that εἰ is for ᾗ, and ἥμετε- for ὑμετε- (the emperor would say ἐμούϲ); we need a masculine plural noun; perhaps then e.g. πρό[τε]ρον εἰ τοὺϲ ἡμετέ[ρουϲ πρέϲβειϲ προϲελθ]εῖν, 'I had heard of (taken thought for) these things before your embassy arrived.' If this approach is right, we need a plain aorist (without ἤδη) in 7; and a new sentence begins with 8.]ωι looks like a dative, but the iota may well be another mis-spelling (ἐγ]ὼι etc.). Further uncertainties:]ειν, even supposing it to be an infinitive, need not depend on πρότερον ᾗ; what follows may or may not begin a new clause, see 9 note.

9 τηϲδεο...[: τῆϲ δεο...[, τῆϲδε ο...[, τῆϲ δὲ ο...[. The first leads nowhere; δεούϲ[ηϲ is excluded by the υ. For the rest, the trace suggests οϲ..[or (perhaps better) οθ..[.

10 καταλεξ[: κατὰ λεξ[or κατ' Ἀλεξ[.

11 οιϲ, with a low ligature between ο and ι, looks a better reading than πιϲ (which requires a cursive form of π not found elsewhere in the piece). ο ιϲ- is not promising ('Ιϲιδ- cannot be read). Therefore οἷϲ; then perhaps τ...[.

Col. ii 1 ὁ ἐξηγητήϲ: this indication of speaker is set out in the left margin. There may or may not have been introductory matter in the lower part of col. i. For the role of the exegete, cf. **2435** 1 note.

ἀνείκητε: Julius Caesar was voted a statue with the inscription *deo invicto*, or so Dio says (43. 45. 3); but Augustus vetoed the title when it was offered to Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 17. 2), and it does not appear in the official titulary of any emperor before Commodus. Unofficial usage was naturally freer: for example, Horace, *Sat.* 2. 1. 11. In the East there was the precedent of Alexander and later Hellenistic kings (PW s.v. Victor, Nachträge 2485 f.); though again I have not found ἀνίκητοϲ attested inscriptionally earlier than Trajan.

ἥρωϲ: the dead are regularly so called in inscriptions, but only the dead (Robert, *Hellenica* 13. 207); so in Dio Antony uses it of the dead Caesar, and Tiberius of the deified Augustus (44. 49. 1, 56. 41. 9). Only in exceptional cases were heroic honours given to the living: to Dion, Timoleon, and others (PW s.v. Heros 1139 f.). Perhaps this is the precedent for the heroizing of Augustus. It is true that later Hellenistic times assigned divine, not merely heroic, honours to living rulers. This was possible in Egypt too: BGU 1200 (2/1 B.C.) and **1143**, both private documents, refer to Augustus as θεὸϲ καὶ κύριοϲ. Perhaps the Alexandrians found this too extravagant; perhaps they intended an allusion to their founder, the Invincible Alexander, who at his tomb received heroic honours (Diod. 18. 28. 4, **2435** 20).

ουτοι.[...: perhaps οὗτοί ε[ἰϲιν.

2–3 The fixed point here is εμεριϲαμεθα (i.e. ἐμεριϲάμεθα, or the compounds in δι-, ϲυν-, etc.; the traces are too slight to exclude any of these). 'We have divided up the embassy among ourselves': the construction leaves no tie for ἡμᾶϲ; probably we should emend to ἡμεῖϲ. At the beginning of 3, οι is certain; then most obviously λ or μ (not α or δ, for the junction would show; not apparently a slanted

τ or anything similar, since no cross-bar is visible at any level). A nominative οἱ .[would suit the grammar.

4 υ.[.]...υ: probably ὑπὲρ οὗ.

5].. : not]ν but]αι or some similar ligature, to judge from the height of the join. -ᾳ[cθ]αι could be read; but I have not found a restoration which satisfies space and syllable-division.

Θεόδωροc: not elsewhere in the *Acta*. ὑπέρ may govern Αἰγύπτου, or a further noun (which would fill the line-end neatly). E.g. ἀ[πορίαc, ἀ[ξιώcεωc arc probably too long; Rea suggests ἀ[ρχῆc.

6 Α[..].οκράτηc: the spacing favours Ἀ[ρ]ποκράτηc (rather than Ἀ[ριc]τοκράτηc); neither name elsewhere in the *Acta*.

θε..[: apparently not θεω[; perhaps θεοδ[. This might be the name of a third speaker, so that the exegete is fourth and last. But I cannot find his subject-matter at the beginning of 7, where].ευϲτον looks a likely reading. Alternatively, there may have been only three speakers in all; θε..[would then be governed by ὑπέρ, or attach somehow else to the Idios Logos.

8 I take the general sense to be 'we have come not to defend ourselves but to (claim our rights).' E.g. πάρεc]μεν οὐκ ἀπολλωγηιcάμενο[ι – – – δε]όμενοι δὲ cοῦ. Cf. 2435 58 λόγῳ γὰρ ὑμεῖc (l. ἡμ-) [ἱκετε]ύcαντεc (aorist participle for future again) πάρεcμεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὸc κτλ. This may be a brusque way to address an emperor, but it is not therefore excluded. Note the Dmeir inscription (no doubt an authentic extract from imperial *commentarii*), where one of the advocates is decidedly offhand with Caracalla (*SEG* xvii 759. 32). The Alexandrian request was perhaps for imperial intervention: 10 αὐτοκρατορι]κῆc (or τῆc] cῆc) ἀντιλήμ[ψεωc (cf. BGU 613. 13 δεόμενοc τῆc ἀπὸ cοῦ ἀντιλήμψεωc τυχεῖν).

Fr. 2 Nothing is certain here. It looks as if the space above line 1, and the space at the end of line 8, are blank except for stray ink: this means the top of a column and the end of a section. But even this is not secure, given the damage to the surface.

3021. *Acta Alexandrinorum*

24 3B.74/J (b)   6 × 13 cm.   First century

One side of this scrap has remains of bold first-century cursive, partly covered by an adhering layer with writing in a different hand. On the other side, written across the fibres, is 3021. Of this only ends survive; the original line-length can only be guessed, since there are no certain supplements to guide us. To the right, traces of a second column. Line 17 was probably the last of the column (the space below is not wide enough to prove it, but the disposition of the text on the front suggests that this was the original lower edge).

The text mentions Alexandrian envoys, an emperor, and the Jews: it is clearly likely to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. One of the envoys was Isidorus son of Dionysius (6). If this is the gymnasiarch of the *Acta Isidori*, we may take the emperor to be Claudius and regard 3021 as part of the same *Acta*. This view is consistent with the *terminus ante* provided by the hand, which is a decent half-cursive to be compared e.g. with that of the Ninus Romance (Roberts, *GLH* 11a) and dated not later than the first century. If it is correct, this version of the *Acta Isidori* was circulating comparatively soon after its dramatic date, and a century or more earlier than the other recensions. But of course Isidorus is a common name; an envoy named Ti. Claudius [　　] (5) might appear at any time after the reign of Tiberius; and the *Acta Diogenis* and *Hermiae* might be alternative locations, even among the surviving documents.

The general outline is clear: the emperor takes his seat, the envoys appear and address him. On the surface, 11–13 may claim the restoration of old Jewish privileges; 14–16 may accuse the Jews of irreligion. Both these are novelties in the *Acta*. But the space leaves wide latitude for contrary restorations. Another novelty: the patronymic of Isidorus, if this is the gymnasiarch, was not so far known.

On the history of the *Acta*, see **3020** introduction.

<div align="center">

Col. i   Col. ii

·   ·   ·   ·   ·

</div>

↓   ].κου[. . . .].αρα.[

        ].ac καὶ ἐκάθιcεν   [

        ] ταῦτα υ ςυ[ν]καθημε-   .[

        μ]ετὰ ταῦτα εἰcῆλθαν   α[

5   ] Τιβέριοc Κλαύδιοc   [

        ]c Ἰcίδωροc Διονυcίο(υ)   [

        ]. πρέcβειc πάντεc   [

        αὐ]τοκράτωρ cεβαcτέ   .[

        Ἀλεξ]ανδρέων πρέcβειc   .[

10   ]αιων λέγετε   [

        ]θα cε κύριε cεβαcτέ   [

        ] προόντα τοῖc Ἰουδαίοιc   [

        ].α νῦν ἐcτέρηνται   [

        ]ν ἀλλὰ τῆc τῶν θεῶν   [

15   ].εν τοῖc ἱεροῖc αὐτῶν   [

        ] κατεμπατουυνται   [

        ]νομενο[. .].υ..   [

i 6 διονυcι⁰

'... and took his seat ... his assessors (?) ... after this there entered ... Tiberius Claudius ... Isidorus son of Dionysius ... all (the?) ambassadors ... "... Lord Emperor! ... ambassadors of the Alexandrians ... "... (what do?) you say (about the Jews?) ..." "... (we beseech) you, Lord Emperor ... preexisting for the Jews ... now deprived ... but of the ... of the gods ... in their temples ... are trampled ...'

1].: an upright (ι etc.).

2].ac: the trace is no more than a hooked foot at line-level. Ἀγρίπ]πac would be possible (he has a speaking part in *Acta Isidori* C). But ἐκάθιcεν should refer to the emperor, as in *Act. Isid.* A i 16, **2435** 30.

3 Perhaps μετὰ] ταῦτα ὑ (= οἱ) ςυ[ν]καθήμε[νοι ἐκάθιcαν. The assessors are common form: *Act. Isid.* A ii 5, B i 1; **2435** 34. On the other hand, they don't elsewhere appear in the prescript; and this

scribe does not elsewhere make phonetic errors. But I can find no other reading: of the crucial letters, υ is clear and ς very likely.

5] *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος*: the *Acta Isid.* refer to the emperor as *Κλαύδιος καῖσαρ*. This Ti. Claudius is more likely to be one of the party of envoys, who are listed in this line and the next: cf. Claudius' *Letter*, PJews 1912. 16–20.

6 *᾽Ισίδωρος Διονυσίο(υ)* may or may not be the famous gymnasiarch (who has no patronymic elsewhere in the *Acta*).

7] . :]ι or]ν.

10 *᾽Ιουδ]αίων*? Perhaps the emperor tells the Jewish envoys to speak; and they (11–13) reply: 'We beg you to restore the preexisting rights of the Jews, of which they have now been deprived.'

11 Probably -με]θα.

13] . α : the trace is of a curving foot, which joins the alpha: ἀλ]λὰ νῦν, rather than] . ἃ νῦν. On the face of it, 12–13 concern *former* privileges of the Jews, *now* taken away. But there are remoter possibilities, given the size of the lacuna.

14–16 would suit a charge of *ἀθεότης* against the Jews (see Jos. *Ap.* 2. 79 f., Tac. *Hist.* 5. 4): e.g. 'they despise the worship of the gods, keep no images in their temples, trample under foot normal usages of piety.'

15] . εν : the trace is of ρ or possibly ι. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 5 'nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt.'

16] *κατεμπατοῦνται*: the verb is not in LSJ and Suppl. But the articulation]κατ' is unpromising; and κατ rather than και is strongly suggested by the traces. *ἐμπατεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα* Agathias 4. 15. 7.

3022. LETTER OF TRAJAN TO ALEXANDRIA

20 3B.36/E (5–7) b   19·3 × 16·8 cm.   A.D. 98

The front of this sheet is occupied by a much-damaged private letter, hastily written with many deletions. The back was later used to copy a letter of Trajan; the copy is written across the fibres in a large crude hand (clearly not official or professional); the hand is not likely to be much later than the text itself.

The letter is an official communication to the city of Alexandria, headed with full imperial titles. It was written some time between 1 October and 9 December A.D. 98 (3 note). Its content is one of generalized benevolence: the emperor has the most friendly feelings towards the city; he and his prefect will take care for its well-being and privileges. Similar sentiments occur in other formal addresses to Alexandria: in the letters by which Augustus and Claudius replied to embassies (**3020**; PJews 1912); and two manifestos of unknown rulers, the 'Speech of Vespasian' SB 9528, and the 'Letter of Severus Alexander' SB 10295 (see now Bowman, *JRS* 60 (1970) 20 ff.). Accessions are likely to call forth such diplomacy; and no doubt Trajan is here replying to a request for confirmation of the city's privileges—a request which will have reached him some months after his accession on 28 January 98. At the same time the letter introduces the new prefect in a halo of future benefits.

Trajan did in fact show some benevolence to Alexandria, at least in the construction of fountains and gates (Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxii 95). For the rest, he figures as villain in the *Acta Maximi* and *Acta Hermaisci*. It is of course possible that **3022** was copied as

part of the *Acta* literature, not merely for its own sake. But, whatever the copyist's interest, it has all the appearance of a genuine document.

↓ [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖcαρ Νέρουαc Τραιανὸc]

[Cεβαcτὸc Γ]ερμαν[ικὸc ἀ]ρχ[ι]ερεὺ[c] μέγι[cτοc

[δημαρχικῆ]c ἐξουcί[α]c τὸ β̄ ὕπατοc Ἀλεξ[. . .

[. . . . .] καὶ τ[.]ν τῆc πόλεωc η[. . . .

5 [. . . . .]c ἐξα[ίρε]τον πρὸc τοὺc cεβ[αcτοὺc

. . . . . .]ν, καὶ τῶν εὐεργεcιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πα-

[τρόc μο]υ μεμνημένοc ἃc παρέcχεν ὑμεῖν

[. . . . .]ν . . ταιc πρώτ[. .]. τῆc ἡγεμονίαc, καὶ

[. . .]. α τούτων τῶν δικαίων ἔχων καὐτὸc

10 [π]ρ[ὸ]c ἡμᾶc διάθεcιν ἰδίαν, παρεθέμην

ὑμᾶc πρῶτον μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, εἶτα καὶ τῷ

φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ Πομπείῳ Πλάντᾳ,

ἵνα μετὰ πάcηc φροντίδοc προνοῇ

ὑμῶν τῆc εὐcταθοῦc εἰρήνηc καὶ τῆc

15 εὐθηνίαc καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθ᾽ ἕκαc-

[τον δι]καίων· ἐξ ὧν εὔδηλον ου[. . . . .

[. . . . .]τουτο μέγιcτον ἔργῳ . . . . . [. . . . .

[. . . . .]. μιζοντοc τουμ[. . . . .

[. . . . . . . μ]εταλαμβαν . . ν .[. . . . .

20 [   ]μα[

[   ]ο .[

[   ].. [

. . . . .

10 l. ὑμᾶc

'Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribuniciae potestatis II consul, to (the city of?) the Alexandrians . . . (Being well aware of) your city's outstanding loyalty towards the emperors, and having in mind the benefits which my deified father conferred on you . . . of his reign, and for my own part also, (over and above?) these claims (of yours), having a personal feeling of benevolence towards you, I have commended you first of all to myself, then in addition to my friend and prefect Pompeius Planta, so that he can take every care in providing for your undisturbed tranquillity and your food-supply and your communal and individual rights. From which (it will be?) clear . . .'

3 τὸ β̄: this term of *trib. pot.* formed a stop-gap between two different reckonings, and lasted less than three months, i.e. October to 9 December A.D. 98 (Pauly–Wissowa Suppl. x 1047 f.). This conforms with the mention of Pompeius Planta as prefect (l. 12): Junius Rufus was still in office on 21 June 98

(PFamTebt. 15. 105); Planta had succeeded him by the end of 98 (Dessau 8907). The scribe must therefore have made a mistake about the consulship: ὕπατος ⟨τὸ β⟩ is required.

3–4 Parallel texts have Ἀλεξανδρέων τῇ πόλει χαίρειν or Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμῳ χαίρειν: **3020** i 3 n. The space here is too short for either formula, or even for Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι χαίρειν. Perhaps χαίρειν was omitted; or something was abbreviated.

4 ff. Some of the same clichés in PJews 1912. 21 ff.

4 η[: probably ἡ[μῶν, l. ὑμῶν (as in 10). In what follows, we need a noun with τ[.]ν, and a participle to govern it, e.g. καὶ τ[ὴ]ν τῆς πόλεως ἡ[μῶν] 5 [εὔνοιαν ὡ]ς ἐξα[ίρε]τον πρὸς τοὺς σεβ[αστοὺς] 6 [νο-μίζω]ν, or (as the Press Reader suggests) 5 [μεμαθηκὼ]ς and 6 [εὔνοια]ν. The difficulty is σεβ[αστούς], where the supplement is about three letters more than expected; σεβ[αστ(ούς)] might be possible; σεβ[ασ|6τοὺς ὁρῶ]ν gives another long supplement.

8 Perhaps [πρώη]ν ἐν ταῖς πρώτ[αι]ς, 'which he conferred on you recently among the first (benefits conferred) in his reign'.

9 ...].α: not ἔνε]κα; the trace before α is apparently a flat-topped letter like tau. Perhaps με]τά.

12 τῷ φίλῳ μου: *amico meo* (see Sherwin-White on Pliny, *Ep.* x 7).

16 ἐξ ὧν εὔδηλον: see **2664** 6, note, for this formula.

17 ff. The sense was perhaps in outline: you will see clearly the attitude of an emperor who thinks (ν]ομίζοντος) that his greatest task is this (τοῦτο μέγιστον ἔργων), namely that you should share ... (τὸ ὑμ[ᾶς – – – μ]εταλαμβάνειν).

3023. PROCEEDINGS BEFORE AN EMPEROR

25 3B.56/H (e)   15·5 × 12 cm.   Second century

Remains of two columns, with intercolumnium and lower margin. The hand is a fine rounded one, of the same style as the Berlin *Theaetetus Commentary* (Schubart, *PGB* 31): it should belong to the second century, and earlier rather than later. The back has been reused for a much damaged text of which I can make nothing at all.

The text is a report of proceedings. The parties named are an Emperor (i 5, ii 4) and a Claudius Atilianus (ii 7); Antiochenes are involved (ii 5, if the reading is correct). Otherwise the matter is quite uncertain. Col. i perhaps mentions a woman (9) and the presentation of a ὑπόμνημα (11 ff.) by a person or group called τυρ[....] or Τυρ[....]. Col. ii concerns itself with a δικαίωμα, which has been produced against the Antiochenes.

The only firm point is Clau. Atilianus, whom I have not identified; three Atiliani are known, all of the earlier second century, one of them a consul and the other two *procuratores Augusti* (ii 7 n.). On the face of it, he speaks for the Antiochenes.

Beyond this we can only assume that Ἀντιοχεῖς is a certain reading, and speculate on this basis. The Antiochenes figure as a group: in what sort of case, is not clear. But why should Antiochene business turn up in Egypt? The most obvious congeners of this text are the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. We have no record of conflict between Antioch and the Roman authorities, except when the city adhered to Avidius Cassius. But it was rich and self-important; and under Gaius, Claudius, and Nero at least conducted a recurrent war with its Jewish colony (G. Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria* 192, 199, 205). Did it develop *Acta* of its own? and did the Alexandrian Greeks take a brotherly interest in them? The *Acta Hermaisci* make an interesting comparison: here,

in proceedings before Trajan, two delegations from Alexandria appear in court; the Jewish group includes Cώπατρος Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένει cυνήγορος ὑπὲρ ᾽Ιουδαίων; the Greeks include Παῦλος Τύριος τῷ γένει αὐθαίρετος cυνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων (Musurillo VIII i 15 and 9). Antioch appears in our text; and Τύρ[ιοι is an attractive supplement at i 12.

<table>
<tr><td align="center">Col. i</td><td align="center">Col. ii</td></tr>
</table>

```
         .    .    .    .
→      ....]α..[
       ...]ματο[
     ..]αccου εν[
     ..]θεναυα..[                      . .    .    .
5   καîcα]ρ εἶπεν· λεγεcθω          ..[                        1
       ....]φος...αναγει            .[
     .......].νουτ.[..]ψη          καîcα[ρ] εἶπεν· τιλ[....
     .......]προcη.[.]θεν          Ἀντιοχεîc προc[...        5
     ..].αικοcτουφ[                τὸ δικαίωμα
10    ...].ναπωνιν[                Κλαύδιος Ἀτιλιανὸc [ἀπε-
       ...]ει με υπομν.[..]..      κρίθη· θειότατε αὐτ[ο-
     ..]. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[....       κρατόρων, πιcτευε[
       ...]μνημα μοι δ[....       τού]τῳ τῷ δικαιώμ[α-       10
       ....]και [[μ]]περὶ ἔμε.[...  τι] ὡc ἀληθι̂ ὄντι καὶ
```

(ii 4 ff.) 'Caesar said: What do the Antiochenes say (?) in answer to this (?) claim?
Claudius Atilianus replied: Most divine of emperors, do you (?) put faith in this claim as if it were a true one and . . .'

Col. i The speeches in col ii are set off by ecthesis and (at least between ii 6 and 7) by wider line-space. i 5 similarly follows a wide line-space, and contains the verb ειπεν. The reconstruction assumes that a speech begins here, and that the line similarly projected 1½ letters into the left margin. No other verb of speaking is visible in the lines which follow, and their spacing is normal: I assume therefore that they are all part of the same speech.

Not much is to be made of the content. If the first-person pronouns in 11-14 refer to the Emperor, the situation is one in which he has received a memorandum: 11 υπομνη[, 12 f. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[....] | [ὑπό]μνημά μοι δ[εδωκ-?]. A ὑπόμνημα plays some part in the *Acta Heracliti* (Musurillo XVIII). Otherwise we may have an appearance before a magistrate, and a woman: see 8 and 9 notes.

6 Of χ only the shaft; perhaps ι.

7]ψη: apparently not]φη.

8 προcῆλθεν might fill the space, though the trace is rather low for λ.

9 γυ]ναικὸc fits neatly.

10].: a high horizontal, intersecting the top of an upright to the left: e.g. γ, but perhaps just a linking stroke.

11 Perhaps ὑπομνῆ[c]αι.

12 τυρ[: if the articulation, and the restoration [ὑπό]μνημα in 13, are right, the word should be complete in about four letters. τύραννοc isn't obviously attractive. There are better chances among personal and geographical names: e.g. (given the mention of Antiochenes in ii 5) Τύρ[ιοι.

14 The last trace possibly η or κ; not ι (therefore περὶ ἐμὲ .[rather than περιέμει[ν-).

Col. ii 4 τιλ[: if the next line is correctly read, one expects τί λ[έγετε or λ[έγουcιν; both give an abnormally long line, but cf. on 5.

5 Ἀντιοχεῖc: this is the crucial reading. τι might be ν; but I cannot see where it would lead. ρ is damaged to the right; but ε and c suit the trace less well.

προc[...: one expects πρὸc [τοῦτο, which is again two letters longer than any of the certainly restored lines below.

7 Κλαύδιοc Ἀτιλιανόc: I cannot identify this Atilianus. *PIR* offers only (1) A 1461 C. Aurelius Atilianus: *procurator Augusti* and (if it is the same man) addressee of a rescript of Antoninus; (2) C 250 P. Calpurnius Atilianus Atticus (?) Rufus (?), consul 135; (3) V 438 L. Villius Atilianus, *equestribus militiis functus, procurator Augusti* (Hadrian). All these have official standing, and are of the same era as the papyrus.

9 πιcτευε[: πίcτευε, imperative? or πιcτεύε[ιc (statement or question)? or even πιcτεύε[ιν (with main verb at the end of the sentence)? Since the δικαίωμα is advanced on the other side, it seems most likely that ὡc ἀληθῖ ὄντι means 'as if it were true'; in which case the simple imperative is unlikely.

3024. Letter of Prefect

21 3B.26/E (5–6) b   3·2 × 17·5 cm.   Second century

A letter from the prefect Vibius Maximus (A.D. 103/7), copied in a crude second-century cursive on the back of a now illegible document. Only line-beginnings survive.

The letter was addressed (probably) to a single strategus, and contained instructions about an individual case (3 note); edicts were mentioned (5, 10). The only real clue to content is the word cκηνικω[(12). This might refer to actors, or to stage performances. In either case we might guess that the prefect concerned himself with the privileges of a Dionysiac Artist. The letter falls before the edict of Hadrian which defined these privileges in detail (2476 4); but no doubt there will have been earlier edicts, even though 2476 does not cite them; the privileges themselves certainly go back to Augustus and Claudius (2476 1–4).

At the foot of the sheet, after a space, a second hand has added five iambic lines. The subject of this text was perhaps the wrath of Ajax; there is no clue to the source or authorship. The hand is more ambitious, but still amateur.

Drama, and even tragedy, continued to exist in Roman Egypt: see Turner, *L'Ant. class.* 32 (1963) 120 ff. It looks as if 3024 belonged to a performer, interested both in dramatic privileges and in dramatic texts.

↓   ἀντίγραφ[ον

               Ο]ὐίβιοc Μά[ξιμοc

               c]τρατηγ..[

               παραγγιλ[

5   διατετα[

```
      ....]λοις[
      ....]εμ.[
      ....]τω[
      .]..κ.ρι[      ·
10    διεταξα[
      γὰρ αὐτῷ .[
      cκηνικω[
      τὴν ἐμὴν [
      εδιcεμοι[
      ─────────
15  (m.²)   αιαντιμηκ[
      νέα φρόνηcιc [
      ου ῥᾳδίωc τοδ.[
      cτείχοντοc [
      Ἕλληcι θυμ[
```

3 The traces allow either c]τρατηγῷ or c]τρατηγοῖc. But in 14 the articulation ἔδ⟨ε⟩ι cέ μοι [looks more likely than ἔδ⟨ε⟩ιcέ μοι [; and cε then points to a singular addressee.

4 E.g. παραυγ⟨ε⟩ῖλ[αι.

5 E.g. διατετα[γμένα, cf. 10.

9 τ]οῦ κυρί[ου could be read.

11 αὐτῷ: the short space which follows implies a word-end here.

12 cκηνικῷ or cκηνικῶ[ν. In published papyri, the word occurs only in the prolix titulature of the artistic–gymnastic games at Panopolis (2476 18 etc.) and Oxyrhynchus (BGU 1074. 16 etc.), the first founded in A.D. 265 and the second in c. 275. The noun cκηνικόc, 'actor', occurs in literature.

15 Αἴαν or Αἴαντι; αἰαν is equally possible in itself, but Ajax suits line 19. Perhaps Αἴαντι μὴ κ[.

17 οὐ or οὖ.

3025. Letter of Epistrategus

This letter is introduced by a proclamation (πρόγραμμα) of the strategus, who had been ordered to display it publicly. The letter itself (7 ff.) is concerned with liturgical appointments. That the epistrategus played some part in these was already well known: see N. Lewis, *CdÉ* 44 (1969) 339 ff. **3025** adds two new pieces of information. First, the epistrategus had recorded the names of those appointed in his *commentarii*, which were (as usual) on public display; it is implied that no other notification might have been made. Second, the epistrategus insists that all the appointees have had their qualifications properly examined, in accordance with the prefect's instructions (14 f.). These ἐντολαί, otherwise unknown, of Q. Rammius Martialis, were presumably similar in content to those which Mettius Rufus (A.D. 89–91) issues to the strategi in SB 9050

col. v; see the discussion of Mettius' rules by A. Kränzlein, *JJP* 6 (1952) 195 ff. and
E. P. Wegener, *Symb. Taubenschlag* I. 331 ff.

The back is blank.

→   Δημ[ήτ]ριος στρατηγ[ὸς] Ὀξυρυγχε[ίτο]υ·

τῆς γραφείσης μοι ὑπὸ Ἰου[λί]ου Μαξιμιανοῦ [τ]οῦ κρατίστου

ἐπιστρα[τήγου] περὶ κατ[αστ]άσεως πραγμ[ατ]ικῶν

ἀντίγρ[αφον] δημοσίᾳ π[ρο]έθηκα ὡς [ἐκε]λεύσθη,

5   ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι ἃ δ[ι]ετάξατο. ἔτους δευτέρου

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τρ[αιαν]οῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κ̄γ̄.

Ἰούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Δημητρίωι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ὀξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν.

εἰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνη[μ]ατισμῶν οὓς προτέθεικα

δῆλα ἔσται τὰ τῶν κα[τ]ασταθέντων εἰς τὰς πρα-

10   γματείας ὀνόματα, οὐ περισσὸν ἡγησάμην τὸ καὶ διὰ

τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι φανερά, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν

βούλομαί σε ἐν δημοσίῳ [πρ]οθεῖναι τόπῳ· πέπεισμαι

γὰρ ἅπαντας τοὺς κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ὑπο-

λαμβάνω ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεθ' ἧς προσῆκεν ἐξετάσεως

15   ἀκολούθως τα]ῖ[ς το]ῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος ἐντολαῖς

.   .   .   .   .   .

7 στρϟ

'Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite:

I have put on public display, as instructed, a copy of the letter written to me by Julius Maxi-
mianus the most excellent epistrategus about the appointment of officials, so that every one may know
the regulations he has made. Second year of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 23.

"Julius Maximianus to Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Even though the
names of those who have been appointed to the offices will be clear from the day-books which I have
displayed, I have thought it not superfluous to announce them in this letter also, which letter too I wish
you to display in a public place. For I am persuaded that all those appointed by me ... in my judge-
ment, carefully and with the proper investigation [in accordance with] the commands of the most
excellent prefect ..."'

1 The first three words make a complete prescript, as e.g. PIand. 140, PLeit. 5. 19 f., PYale 61.
This is our earliest reference to Demetrius (17 July 118); he is seen in office later in 1547 1 (23 Jan. 119)
and PFouad 30. 1 (26 Jan. 121).

2 Maximianus is attested a month earlier by PSI 281. 41 ff. (19 June 118).

6 Ἐπεὶφ κ̄γ̄: this date fits the categories of official normally appointed by the epistrategus (see
Lewis l.c.). Thus the appointments of practors regularly took place in Pachon/Payni.

3026. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

20 3B.37/D (3) a   33 × 23·3 cm.   *c.* 165/6

This tattered sheet contains copies of official letters: on the front two columns, the first full width; on the back a docket, written along the fibres, and a further letter in a different hand (printed below as **3027**). The sheet is damaged at head and foot; to judge from the docket, not much is missing at the head, but 8 cm. or more at the foot (i 26 n.).

The correspondence is that between the Idios Logos and the strategus and royal scribe of the Metelite nome. The originals were written in the period 29 August 165 to 5 May 166 (i 6 n.). The copy was made for (or by) the strategus (i 10 ἐμοί); he was in office when the letter i 14 ff. reached him, out of office when the docket was written (*Back* 1 ϲτρατηγήϲαντοϲ).

i 9 begins a new section, set off by a blank line-space. The letter itself begins in 14. Before it is an elaborate heading in three sections: the authority from whom the letter issues (9), the parties involved (10–11), summary of content (12–13). The same letter perhaps continues to ii 26; but it would be very long, and in any case the docket (*Back* 2) implies a plurality; probably we should assume a fresh start between i 24 and ii 5.

So far as can be seen, then, this is a copy of correspondence received. Other such letter-books are known, see PBeattyPanop. pp. xxi f. But the elaboration of i 9–13 is not easy to parallel. PAmh. 137. 15 is something like. Closer still is the letter published in *JEA* 55 (1969) 189, whose heading might be restored: Ὀάϲεωϲ Θηβαΐδοϲ (administrative sector) ϲ[εξτιλίου Ἱέρακοϲ] (name of writer) περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δ[ιατριβόντων (summary).

The actual situation presupposed in i 14 ff. is this. The Idios Logos concerned itself among other things with property which fell in to the State. The community of Hagnu in the Metelite nome had failed to report some treasury property (i 19 f.). The antarchiereus Salvius Justus had written to the strategus on 21 May 164, but received no information (17–20). Next, the eclogistes of the nome wrote requiring that copies of the reports in local archives should be submitted for inspection (20 ff.). Presumably this letter too produced no results, for Dorion now writes the present letter on the same subject. Col. ii is too much damaged to follow the further progress of this wrangle.

Salvius Justus is new to the fasti; his office has been attested so far only by SB 9016.

Col. i

. . . .

→   .[   ]..

   [   ]

   [   ].μο

   [   ]κιλιου

5   .[ἰδί]ου λόγου ἐπι-

τρο[πη   c. 25   ἀπὸ Θὼθ ἕως Πα]χὼν δεκάτης

τοῦ ς (ἔτους) ..[c. 35   ]....ημερα

.μου...[c. 35   ]

ἰδίου λόγου (vac.)

10   Δωρίωνος ἐγλογιστο[ῦ Μετηλεί]του ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ βασιλικ(ῷ)

γραμματεῖ γραφείς[ης   c. 12   ]

περὶ τοῦ ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸν βιβλιοφύλακ[α π]αρενέγκαι προσφω-

νήσεις ἀνηκόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἁγνοῦ.

Δωρίων ἐγλογ[ι]στὴς Μετηλείτου Αἰλίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Cερήνῳ

15   στρατηγῷ καὶ Διοσκόρῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀνουβίωνι βασιλικῷ γρα(μματεῖ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ

νομοῦ τοῖς φιλτάτοις χαίρειν.

πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα [.].....ερ[..]..... στρατηγῷ τῷ δ (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίν(ου)

καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατ[ό]ρ[ων] Παχὼν κ̅ς̅ ὑπὸ Cα-

λουίου Ἰούστου τοῦ ἀνταρ[χ]ιερέω[ς] περ[ὶ] τῶν ἀπὸ Ἁγνοῦ μὴ

20   σημανάντων τὰ τῷ ταμείῳ [δι]αφέρον[τ]α [οὐδ]ὲν ἐδηλώθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ

καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐπ[ι]ςτα[λέν]τα περὶ τοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν αὐτῶν

προσφωνήσεων ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ [τό]πων βιβλιοθήκῃ ἀπὸ ιε (ἔτους) Μεχεὶρ

ἕως κβ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι τὰ [ἀ]ντίγραφα μεταδοθῆναι προς....α

...[c. 10   ].ωτο.. παρατε[θ]ῆναι [..]δηλω.η.......

25   τα[

  ..[

. . . .

10 βασιλι^κ   15 γρ)   17 αντωνιν.

Col. ii

· · · ·

```
      . . . [
      . . . . . [
      . . . . [
      νομου[
 5    ε . . . [
      γεν . [
      επις[
      ρομ . [
      νωντ . [
10    ενοι . . [
      το τοις . . . . . [
      ρισατεξητας . . . . . [
      τὰς παρ[ατε]θείϲαϲ ὑμ[ῖν
      οὐδ’ αὐτὰ[ϲ] μέχρι δευ[
15    επιϲταλ[ . . . ] ὑμῖν π . [
      π . . . . [ . . . . ] . η[ . ]πΟΤ . [
      ἐπεϲταλκέναι τῷ το[
      ρει ἵν’ ἴδῃ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τὰ ἴδια μ[έρη
      γεγραφέναι ἵνα παν[
20    τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[
      τ]ὴν ἐξέταϲιν ποιηϲαμ[
      ἐπέϲτειλα ὑμῖν ἵν̣α̣[
      λείαϲ μεταδῶτε . . [
      τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν ε̣ξ̣[
25              ἐρρῶϲθ(αι) ὑμ[ᾶϲ εὔχομαι
      (ἔτουϲ) . . Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Ο̣ὐ̣[ήρου
        τ̣ῆ̣ϲ ἐπι`ϲ´το(λῆϲ) τὸ ἀντί[γραφον
        μέρη ἀναπληρω . [
              ] . . . . . . [
```

· · · ·

ii 25 ερρωϲ� θ ϋμ[27 επιτοᵘλ

Back, →

1   Αἰλίου Διδ]ύμου τοῦ καὶ Cε[ρή]νου στρατηγή(cαντοc) Μετηλ(είτου) [καὶ

β]α[cι]λ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέωc) ⟦[....]⟧ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομ(οῦ) .[*c.* 22

τῆc τοῦ ἰδίου λ(όγου) ἐπιτροπ(ῆc) τῶν ἀπὸ Θὼθ ἕωc Παχὼν (*vac.*) δεκάτηc

τοῦ .(ἔτουc) Ἀντων[ίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων

3   αὐτοκρατόρων   (*vac.*)   .....ιδιο[

Back 1 cτρατηγ^η   μετη^λ   β]α[cι]^λ   γρ)   νō   2 ιδιο ῡ^λ επιτρô

Col. i 9 ff. 'Idios Logos. (Letter) of Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, written to me and to the royal scribe. About pressing the bibliophylax to deliver reports of property belonging (to the treasury) from the inhabitants of Hagnu.

' "Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, to Aelius Didymus alias Serenus, strategus, and to Dioscorus alias Anubion, royal scribe, of the said nome, his very dear friends, greetings. In reply to the letter written to . . . strategus in the 4th year of Antoninus and Verus our lords the emperors, on the 26th of Pachon, by Salvius Justus the deputy high-priest, in the matter of the inhabitants of Hagnu, who had not signified property pertaining to the treasury—no information has been given. And since in reply to my own further instructions about the submission for examination of copies of the reports which exist . . in the local record office . . ." '

i 4]κιλιου: it looks like a proper name. Note that] Cιλίου is not a possible reading (L. Silius Satrianus, Idios Logos in 164 or 165).

6 f. The docket, *Back* 2–3, seems to repeat this, which suggests that the beginning of this column too is a general title for the collection which follows. The legible parts of the two passages supplement one another to give the date, Thoth (1) to Pachon 10, 29 Aug. 165 to 5 May 166.

7 ϛ (ἔτουc)..[: we expect imperial titles, as in 17 f.; the formula may end before the lacuna ends, or project beyond it (αὐτοκρατ]όρων ημερα). ημέρα is unexpected but unavoidable; the next word begins with a rounded letter (ε, ο, c). Rea suggests ἡμέρα | Ἑρμοῦ, 'Wednesday'. In that case, a month and a numeral must precede: restore τοῦ ϛ (ἔτουc) Ἀν[τωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Πα]χὼν ῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ἑρμοῦ (Πα]χὼν only *exempli gratia*; the traces are indecisive).

9–10 The eclogistae belong to the department of the Idios Logos: PRyl. 83. 18 note.

11 γραφείc[ηc: if a supplement is necessary, τὸ ἀντίγραφον as in ii 27.

12–13 See on 20.

13 Ἁγνοῦ: the seat of a bishopric in Coptic times, but not otherwise known from sources of the Roman period: see Maspero–Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (1919) 5. It must have some connection with the Ἁγνου (Ἁγνοῦ?) κέραc, which projected into the sea east of the Rosetta mouth (Strabo 17. 1. 18). Here the town clearly lies in the Metelite nome. According to Gauthier (*Les Nomes* 144 ff.) this nome was between the Canopic and Rosetta mouths; our text shows that the nome extended east of the Rosetta mouth, or else that Hagnu lay west of it.

17 cτρατηγῷ: one expects 'to X your predecessor as strategus', but I cannot read πρὸ cοῦ among the traces.

τῷ δ (ἔτει): 21 May 164: rather more than a year before the present letter.

18 f. Cαλουίου Ἰούcτου: not in Pflaum, *Carrières*. An account of grain from the granary of Sinary (to be published by Dr. John Shelton) mentions land (πρότερον) Σαλουίου Ἰούcτου (line 254); the account dates from the reign of Severus Alexander or less probably Gallienus.

19 ἀνταρ[χ]ιερέῳ[c: the office is attested only in SB 9016, of A.D. 160. The then holder, Ulpius Serenianus, had clearly moved on by 164. The office was no doubt that of permanent deputy to the High Priest, not of temporary substitute (διαδεχόμενοc): Pflaum, *Carrières* 521 f. Serenianus climbed the hierarchy to become archiereus himself by A.D. 171. If Salvius Justus could be identified with

Salvius Julianus, archiereus in 185, we could suppose the same form of promotion; but Julianus and not Justus is read for certain in the later text (BGU 82).

20 τὰ τῷ ταμείῳ [δι]αφέρον[τ]α: so M. *Chr.* 91 ii 10. The same items are called ἀνήκοντα in 13. Reports were submitted by comogrammateis to their strategus: W. *Chr.* 172 (A.D. 196) δηλῶ μηδὲν ϲεϲημάϲθ(αι) μοι ἀνῆκον τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῇ, similarly W. *Chr.* 72 and SPP xx 33 (priestly duties), PIand. 139. 24–7 (fallen trees). Cf. the monthly summaries, headed δι' ἀνηκόντων μηνὸϲ X, in PIand. 139. 12 and BGU 492. 3. The προϲφωνήϲειϲ mentioned in lines 12 and 22 must be reports of this kind. From our text it becomes clear that copies of these reports were lodged in the nome-archive (22); the keeper is to be made to produce them (12) for detailed vetting (23). The further stages of this vetting are illustrated by PIand. 139.

22 f. The years are presumably those of Pius: Mecheir 152 to Phaophi 158. The inquiry, conducted in 165/6, looks back a long way.

24 e.g.].ῳ τόπῳ παρατε[θ]ῆναι, [ἐ]δηλώθη ἐπιϲτα...

26 The left margin is preserved for *c.* 2 cm. below this line. Its lower edge might, from its appearance, be the original edge of the sheet. But the docket, assuming the supplement in line 2 to be certain, shows that at least 8 cm. of papyrus are lost below.

ii 12 ἐξηταϲμένον [would fit traces and context. But I don't see how to articulate what precedes (e.g. κατεχω]ρίϲατ'?).

14 μέχρι δὲ υ[or μέχρι δεῦ[ρο.

17 E.g. τῷ το[ῦ νομοῦ ϲτρατηγῷ.

18 For the formula (l. εἰδῇ) see 27 f., n.

19 ff. E.g. ἵνα πάν[τεϲ - - - οἱ] τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[οὶ - - - τ]ὴν ἐξέταϲιν ποιηϲάμ[ενοι - - -.

24 E.g. τὴν ἐξ[έταϲιν.

26 Restore Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐ[ήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων, month, day: a line of approximately the same length as in col. i.

27 f. Cf. 18. The full formula PGiss. 48. 28–30: - - - ὑποτάξαϲ ἐπιϲτέλλω, φίλτατοι, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἕκαϲτοϲ τὰ ἴδια μέρη ἀναπληρώϲῃ. Do these lines continue a covering note, in which the letter which precedes was quoted? Or are they a memorandum of the strategus?

Back 2 For the dates see on i 6 f.

3 At the end perhaps ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίο[υ λόγου.

3027. OFFICIAL LETTER

20 3B.37/D (3) a   33 × 23·3 cm.   A.D. 161–169

This letter is written across the fibres on the back of **3026**; the docket to **3026** occupies the left margin.

The letter is addressed to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, and delegates to him the decision in a law-case; the writer must be a higher official, perhaps the epistrategus. The procedure is familiar from documents which show it from the petitioner's side. Sarapion (line 2) will have delivered his petition to the epistrategus; one copy will be returned to him with the subscription μηδενὸϲ ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῷ ϲτρατηγῷ· ἀπόδοϲ (see PTebt. 327 and 439); another copy, signed, goes to the relevant strategus, together with the covering letter **3027**.

3027 itself must be a copy or a draft (written on scrap paper, with a date which lacks the month and day). Probably it is a draft: this supposition explains the partial dating and the subscription (9–10). The letters on the other side are certainly copie

Both sides are of about the same date, though written by different hands; the connection between them may be that one and the same official had an interest in all the business involved.

The text gives a new context to the phrase μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου, and perhaps throws some light on its meaning (5 note).

↓   Α[c. 27   cτρ]ατηγῶι Ὀξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν·
βιβ[λιδίων ἐπι]δοθέντων [μ]οι ὑ[πὸ] Cαραπίωνος Τερεντίου γραμματέως
πράκτορος τ[ὸ] ἕτερον cημιωcάμενος ἔπεμψά cοι, ὅπως διαγνού[c
μετοξὺ αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ ο]ῦ αἰτιᾶται ἑτέρου πράκτορος τὰ προcήκοντα
5   ἀποφήνῃ, μηδεν[ὸ]ϲ ἐπεχ[ο]μένου τῶν πράccεcθαι ὀφειλόντων.
ἐρρῶcθ(αί) cε εὔχο(μαι). (ἔτουc) . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
Cεβαcτοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μ[ηδ]ι[κ]οῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίcτου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος
Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐ[ήρ]ου Cεβα[cτ]οῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίcτου
space of c. 12 cm.

(m.²) δὸc υπ[c. 40   ]
10   ...[c. 40   ].τεωc cεcη(μείωμαι)

.   .   .   .

6 ερρωcᶿ   ευχο̄   10 cecη̄

'. . ., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Petitions have been submitted to me by Sarapion, son of Terentius, practor's secretary. Of these I have signed one and sent it to you, so that you can decide between him and the other practor whom he accuses, and return the proper verdict; no matter which needs to be considered is reserved from your jurisdiction (?). Year 7 (?) of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus. (2nd hd.) Give to the assistant (?) . . . I have signed (?) . . .'

1 The lacuna might contain (a) the name of the writer only; (b) the name of the strategus only; (c) the names of both. (c) is the most natural; (b) would characterize an unfinished draft; (a) is quite possible, as W. *Chr.* 28 shows. The limiting factors are the initial α; and the date or possible dates of the document (see 6 note). Within the relevant period, the writer (who is presumably of higher rank than the strategus) might be the prefect (M.) Annius Syriacus (161/2–2. Mar. 164, see BGU 2058. 13), or the epistrategus Aquilius Capitolinus (2563 1); the only known Oxyrhynchite strategus is Clau. Demetrius *alias* Hermias (166–7).

5 The parallel phrases are as follows:

μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῷ cτρατηγῷ· ἀπόδος or sim.; PTebt. 327 and 439, SB 9340;
μηδενὸς ἐπεχομένου alone: 488, PStrass. 57 (corrected by Martin, *Archiv* 6. 217);
μηδε[νὸ]ϲ ἐπεχομ[έν]ο[υ ὁ κρά(τιcτος) ἐπιcτρά(τηγος) εἴ]cεται [ὁποί]α [...].[..] ἐcτιν ἡ ἀξίωcιc 2131 19 (amended from POslo III 81. 6).

In all these the formula constitutes the subscription of a petition; and in all the case is certainly or probably being referred from a higher official to a lower one. Hunt (2131 19) translates 'without pre-

judice to anything . . .'; LSJ ἐπέχω IV c 'no objection being taken'; the *WB* takes the verb as middle, 'Einspruch erheben' (and μηδενόc must then be personal). Our text is unique in adding τῶν πράc-cεcθαι ὀφειλόντων, which does at least make it clear that μηδενόc is neuter. I guess that the meaning is 'no necessary procedure being reserved', i.e. that the investigation and decision is put entirely in the hands of the strategus. But ἐπέχειν has many ambiguities.

6 (ἔτουc) . : the year-sign is clear; just after the vertical a long high oblique, descending gently to where the papyrus breaks off; then traces of ink below the gap. Of the numerals possible within this nine-year reign, α, δ, and ζ might suit the traces: 161, 163/4, 166/7. It could be argued that all but the last is excluded, because the recto text mentions the 4th year of the same emperors (163/4) and a 6th year probably of the same reign (165/6) (3026 i 17, i 7). But even if we allow that 3027 was copied later than 3026, there is no proving that the originals were copied in their chronological order. The question remains open.

9 Perhaps δὸc ὑπ[ηρέτῃ.

10 Perhaps διὰ Χ γραμμ]ατέωc.

3028. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

23 3B.13/E (3) a   15·5 × 34 cm.   Earlier 3rd century

Remains of one column of writing, preserved to full height. The papyrus was cut down, and the back reused for **3048**; consequently we have only part of what must originally have been very long lines. The main text is written in a handsome third-century cursive. A scribble in the upper margin probably refers to the proclamation on the back (**3048** introd.).

The text is a letter or petition. It is addressed to a μεγαλειότηc (6), probably the prefect. Its date depends on three indications: (1) **3048** on the back dates from A.D. 247; (2) Herennianus (10) is likely to be the iuridicus and acting prefect of 225; (3) accordingly the 12th year mentioned in l. 19 is likely to be 12 Alexander Severus, A.D. 232/3, rather than 12 Septimius Severus, A.D. 203/4; 12 Gallienus can be excluded under (1). **3028** therefore belongs between 232/3 and 247.

The writer was apparently responsible for the collection of taxes in wheat; he claims to have been very diligent (15–18), but strictly legitimate in his methods (23); others blamed him (2) as reckless and unjust (5, 7). Arrears are still owing, and he reserves the right to complete collection (25–6). It might be inferred that the writer is a πράκτωρ cιτικῶν. The details of the affair remain obscure. But three points are of some interest: the Oxyrhynchites bewailing their ruin (8); the sending of troops (12), presumably to help in the collection; and the reference to threshing floors (13), which might mean that the harvest was kept at the floor until the government had taken its due—a practice attested for Ptolemaic Egypt, but not evidenced in Roman Egypt before **1255** of A.D. 292.

→   ] κύριέ μου τῇ δ['] τοῦ Χοιὰκ μηνὸc δι' ὧν ηθ.[
        ]ει cου προcενεχθεῖcαν κατὰ τῆc ἀπαιτήcεω[c
        ]ετι καὶ δηλώcαc ἃ ἔγραψαc αὐτοῖc ἐν οἷc . . ατο . . [
        ]υc ἐλέcθαι τοὺc καταcτηcομένουc ἐπὶ τουcου[

5   ].μοι ἁρμόcαcθαι τῇ ἀπαιτήcε[ι] ὡc μὴ δικαια[

μεγ]αλειότητί cου δηλῶcαι προήχθην πᾶν τὸ εν.[

].ντων ἔργων ὡc οὔτε΄ προπετῶc ἐπὶ ταῦτα [

].cιν ὀδυρόμενοι ἀνάcταcιν Ὀξυρυγχειτα.[

ἐλ]πίδοc ἀποκοπείcηc τῆc εἰc τὸ μέλ[λ]ον καὶ πρὶν ηλαμπ[

10   ]ω Ἑρεννιανῷ ὡc αὐτόc φηcιν δι᾽ ὧν ἐπεcτειλ[

]τατω ταμείῳ ὡc ἂν ἐπίτροποc ῾τῇ᾽ ἀπαιτήcει .π..[

cτρατι]ώταc διδοὺc καὶ δεκαδάρχαc π[έ]μπων καὶ αυτο.[

]α πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλωνιῶν ἵν᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τω[

].ναι τὸν ἴδιον κανόνα καὶ εἰ μὴ [ἦ]ν φορτικὸν κα[

15   ]cαc μοι ἐπιcτολὰc ἴcωc δι.[.].ην ἐπαγρυπν[

ἐ]γγράφωc μὲν ἐνετελλόμη[ν ἀ]πειλῶν δε ου.[

] ἐνεκείμην ἀλλὰ διαφερέτω [τ]αῦτα προc[

]α αὐτὰ διετέλουν λαβὼν δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τοῦ κρατί[cτου

] ὁλοκλήρουc τοὺc cειτικοὺc φόρουc τοῦ ιβ (ἔτουc) ἀπαιτ[

20   ] βουλευτὰc ὑπόcχεcιν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ποιήcαcθαι .[

τ]οῖc γενομένοιc ὑπομνήμαcιν ἃ καὶ ὑπέταξεν [

γ]ραφέντα μοι ἐν οἷc ἦν καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ ἐπιcταλέντα [

]α ὡc ἐγὼ μὲν ὁδῷ νομιμωτάτῃ τῆc ἀπαι[τήcεωc

] ἐτίθεντο τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτίκα μάλα τῆc μη[

25   ]ων ὀφειλομένων τῷ ταμείῳ μετὰ ταῦτά μου [

] ἐμοῦ κυρίου περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τὴν ἀπαίτη[cιν

16 ἐ]γ᾽γραφωc

1 ηθ.[: the scribe has a tendency to divide his words; and here θ is slightly spaced from η. There-fore e.g. ἡ θε[ία πρόνοια rather than e.g. ἤθε[λε.

2 E.g. ἀξίωcιν τῇ τάξ]ει (or τῷ μεγέθ]ει) cου προcενεχθεῖcαν.

3 ..ατο..[: perhaps κ[].]ατον[ο]μ[-.

4 τουcου[: again, the scribe has left a space, which suggests τοῦ cου[rather than τοὺc ου[.

6 μεγ]αλειότητι: applied to emperors, prefects, and catholici. Here presumably the prefect, since the office of catholicus was not created until *c.* 245 (*JRS* 57 (1967) 138).

9 λαμπ[: π is almost certain (not β). πρὶν ἢ λαμπ[? πρὶν ἡ λαμπ[?

10 Ἑρεννιανῷ: 3076 introduction.

11 E.g. τῷ ἱερω]τάτῳ ταμείῳ. After ἀπαιτήcει, ἀπό corrected to ἐπί or ἐπί corrected to ἀπό; then most probably π or τ.

15 E.g. πεμφθεί]cαc.

δι.[.].ην: the trace after δι excludes διὰ τήν; and δὲ τήν looks short for the space. Perhaps διπλῆν ἐπαγρυπν[ίαν, though the trace is rather long and flat for λ.

19 ιβ (ἔτουc): if β is right, it was written in the open-topped cursive form; the upper parts of the verticals are preserved, with (apparently) blank papyrus above (therefore not ε or θ) and at line-level (therefore not α).

24 Again, a space before ἐτίθεντο.

26 E.g. μένοντος] ἐμοῦ κυρίου.

3029. LETTER TO STRATEGI

8 1B.190/G (a)   .   8·8 × 14 cm.   Valerian

This letter is preserved to full height; but a large part, perhaps two-thirds, of each line is lost. The back of the sheet has been reused for an account of wine. The handsome upright hand has affinities with the Chancery type.

The letter is addressed to the strategi of three or more specified nomes. The writer (perhaps the prefect) gives them instructions which involve an *opiniator*. The outline situation can be reconstructed from several letters in PBeattyPanop. 2. The *opiniator* is sent to collect money for the issue of military pay and donatives. Here some payment is due for Mesore (3); and there is perhaps to be a donative for some festival in honour of a Valerian (5–6).[1] The document makes it clear that neither the *opiniator* nor his missions was an innovation of Diocletian.

→   ]$\overset{\chi}{\rho}$

                          c]τρατηγοῖς τῶν ὑπογεγρ(αμμένων) ν[ομῶν

                          ] νων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεσορὴ μ[ηνὸς

                          ]εντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ οπιν[

5   τ]ῆς εὐτυχεστάτης ἡμέρας [

                       ] Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέ[ρου

    (m.²)   ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμ]ᾶς εὔχομαι

    (m.¹)   ]ιτου Κυνοπολίτου ἄνω

2 υπογεγρ⟧

1 Presumably](ἑκατονταρχ). This cannot be the addressee: only one centurion is involved (4), but the greeting (7) is to a plurality. The strategi, then, are the addressees: for the form, with the list of nomes at the end, cf. e.g. PBeattyPanop. 2. 32 ff. Line 1 will have contained the name of the centurion who carried this letter of authorization with him.

To the right is an isolated trace, most like the lower part of a small *chi*.

3 E.g. τῶν ὀφειλομ]ένων.

4 E.g. τῷ ἀποσταλ]έντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ ὀπιν[ιάτορι. On the *opiniator* see PBeattyPanop. 2. 41 note.

5 ἡμέρας: donatives for the birthday and *dies imperii* of Diocletian, PBeattyPanop. 2. 162 etc.; for the third consulship of Constantius and Maximian 2. 267.

6 τοῦ πρεσβυτέ[ρου: 'the elder' (as distinct from his grandson)? or 'the senior Augustus' (as distinct from Gallienus)? For the second cf. PBeattyPanop. 2. 163 etc. Alternatively, the reference might be to the younger Valerian, as elder son of Gallienus. The word does not occur in any of the titulatures of the Valeriani collected by Bureth, *Titulatures impériales*.

8]ιτου: perhaps 'Οξυρυγχ]ίτου, since it lies immediately to the North of the Upper Cynopolite. There will have been at least one more nome before this (the Heracleopolite?), since the initial lacuna must be long enough to contain the name and title of the writer in line 2.

[1] Dr. Rea refers to **1185** 29 for a βασιλέως ἑορτή of the same reign (on the date of Magnius Felix, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 120).

3030. OFFICIAL LETTER OF ROYAL SCRIBE

Plate IX

26 3B.51/B (3–4) b　　　　　　　　　12 × 18 cm.　　　　　　　　　31 March 207 (?)

This piece comes from a τόμος cυγκολλήcιμος; a strip with line-ends from another document still adheres to the left. On the back is the address and (perhaps) a docket. The content is clear in outline (here I am especially indebted to Dr. Rea). Some tax has been collected over a four-year period. With the end of the period, each royal scribe has to document the tax-transactions which concern his own tax-payers, whether carried on in his own nome or in another. In **3030**, therefore, a royal scribe writes to his colleague in the Themistes division of the Arsinoite, and asks to be notified of relevant transactions in that nome; he adds the assurance that he himself has done and will do his duty by his colleagues in the same way. Further understanding depends on the tax involved. I suggest that the tax was the ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων; and that the οἰκονο-μίαι (6) were transfers of catoecic land, reported to each royal scribe by his βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήcεων (10). See 3 n.

The hand has considerable palaeographic interest. It is basically a literary hand; only the cursive κ and the occasional ligatured groups (12 and 14 δε, 14 -με) lower the tone. Characteristic letter-forms are μ in three movements, c in two, φ diamond-shaped. Uprights are thickly ornamented with serifs and back-hooks. The general effect is much like that of **2555**, of the late first century. It is salutary to have, precisely dated, so late an example of this fragile decorated style.

$$(m.^6) \quad [\ldots \ldots \varPi]\alpha\hat{\upsilon}\nu\iota \ \iota\beta^{-}$$

→　　(m.¹) Ἀμ]μώνιος βαcιλ(ικὸc) γρ . . . . . εως . . . . . [. .

βαcιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) (m.²) Ἀρc(ινοίτου) Θεμίcτ(ου) μερίδ(οc)

(m.¹) τῷ [φιλ(τάτῳ) χα(ίρειν).

τ[ο]ῦ διὰ τετραετηρίδος πραccομένου αριθμ[. .].[.

τ[ε]λέcματος λήξαντος κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐτῶν

5　　πε]ρίοδον εἰς τὸ ἐνεcτὸc ἔτοc ἐπιcτέλλω coι,

φίλτατε, ιν . . . c τελιωθείcαc παρὰ coὶ οἰκον[ο-

μίαc . .]. .[. .].[.]c τούτου ἀνηκούcαc τῷ[ν]δε τῷ

νομῷ . . . .]. .μοι δηλώcῃc πρὸc τὸ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὰ

ἀκόλουθα γενέcθαι· ὅcαι μέντοι ἐcημάνθηcαν

10　　ἐνταῦθα [. . . βι]βλιοφύλακος ἐγκτήcεων

ἀνήκουcαι [ἐτ]έροιc νομοῖc μέχρι τούτου, αὗται

φανεραὶ ἐγ[έ]νοντο οἷc διέφερον· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ νῦν

μεταδοθῷ[cιν ἀ]νήκουcαι τῷ ὑπ[ὸ coὶ ν]ομῷ,

φανεραί ϛ[οι γ]ενήϲονται· εἰ δὲ μή, εἴϲθι ἀρκούμε-

15   νόν με [τῷδε τῷ ἐ]πιϲτάλματι. (*m.³*) ἐρρῶ-

ϲθαί [ϲε ε]ὔχ[ο]μαι, φίλτ(ατε).

(*m.⁴*)   (ἔτουϲ) ιϛ′ Α[ὐτοκρατ]όρων Καιϲάρων Λουκίου Ϲεπτ[ι]μίου

Ϲεουήρ[ου Εὐ]ϲεβοῦϲ Περτίνακοϲ Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ

Παρθικοῦ Μ[εγίϲ]του καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίν[ο]υ

20   Εὐϲεβοῦ[ϲ Ϲε]βα[ϲ]τῶν Φ[α]ρ[μ]οῦθι ε̄.

(*m.⁵*)   δι′ . . . . .αρυπ′ Παχὼ(ν) κ⁻

Back, →   βαϲιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) Θεμ(ίϲτου) μερίδ(οϲ)

↓   ] . . . .οϲβ . ⁻

1 βαϲι̊λ͜   2 βαϲι̊λ͜ γραϛ   αρᶜ   θεμιϲᵀ   μερι̊δ   4 -ματοϲ: o corr. from ε, crossed out, small o
suprascript   8 ὑπ   10 εγʼκτ⁻   21 παχ̊ω

'(6th hd.) . . . Pauni 12.

Ammonius, royal scribe . . . to (. . .?) the royal scribe of the (2nd hd.) Arsinoite, Themistes division, (1st hd.) his very dear friend, greetings. Since the . . . tax which is exacted over a period of four years has lapsed with the term of years in the present year, I am writing to you, friend, so that you may indicate to me the documents transacted in your office up to the present relevant to this nome, with a view to my carrying out the consequent procedure. Such as have been made known here by (?) the *bibliophylax enkteseon* relating to other nomes up to the present, these have been reported to those whom they concerned; and if any relating to the nome in your charge are handed in even at this late stage, they will be reported to you. Otherwise, be informed that this missive suffices me. (3rd hd.) I pray for your health, my very dear friend. (4th hd.) Year 15 (?) of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti, Pharmouthi 5.

(5th hd.) . . . Pachon 20
(*Back*) To the royal scribe of the Themistes division . . .'

1 The reconstruction of this line must begin from the word after βαϲιλ(ικ). Clearly it was some writing of γραμματεύϲ. We might consider (*a*) γρα[ϛ] . . . .εωϲ; (*b*) γραμϛ . .εωϲ; (*c*) γραμματεωϲ. The difficulty with (*a*) and (*b*) is, that no nome will fit the traces which follow. There is nothing to suggest -είτου; no trace lies so high as to suggest an abbreviated form. The spacing points to a word-end after -εωϲ. But ᾽Οάϲεωϲ will not do, since the letter before εωϲ is almost certainly τ (the cross-bar, and the top of the vertical); and γρα[ϛ] μαϲτεωϲ (or β- or κ-), or γραμϛ .τεωϲ, lead nowhere. I therefore suggest (*c*), for want of anything better. Against it at least two objections: the genitive must be assumed to be a mistake; the double μ is cramped, and α following has an anomalous shape with a curved linking stroke at the top. If it is right, we expect a nome-name to follow. The next trace strongly suggests η or ι; it would be possible to read ῾Η[ρ]ακλ(είδου) [μερ(ίδοϲ) or ῾Η[ρ]ακλ[εοπολ(ίτου).

2 The Themistes and Polemo divisions were united under a single strategus as early as A.D. 138. Each had its own royal scribe: last attested for the Polemo division in 208, for the Themistes in 207 (the present document).

The first hand left a blank between γρα(μματεῖ) and τῷ [φιλ(τάτῳ); a second hand added the nome. This suggests a circular letter in several copies, each for a different addressee; and makes it un-likely that the personal name of the addressee stood in line 1.

3 One relevant factor is missing: the name of the tax. The final trace in αριθμ[. .].[. is too small to

be determining. For the sense I have considered two possibilities. (*a*) ἀριθμ[ῶ]ν: a tax for military units. I find no parallel to the expression. (*b*) ἀριθμ[ητ]ικ[οῦ: a known tax, though expressed in unparalleled form (elsewhere ἀριθμητικόν or the plural without τέλεϲμα). Against this: either the word was abbreviated (no other abbreviations in the work of the first hand), or the line was exceptionally long.

Otherwise, there are considerable advantages in identifying the tax as ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων. It was owners of catoecic land who paid this tax. They might pay tax in their own nome, and hold land in another (cf. SB 4415); transfers of such land would be authorized by the βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήϲεων; and the royal scribe kept the list of owners up-to-date (SB 4415). We could assume that the royal scribe of **3030** wishes to establish whether any inhabitants of his nome have made themselves liable to tax by acquiring catoecic land; any such acquisition within his own nome is notified through the βιβλιοφύλαξ, but for land in other nomes he must appeal to their royal scribes.

We can explain διὰ τετραετηρίδοϲ on the same supposition. It has been deduced from BGU I 342 that ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων was levied every fourth year (Wallace, *Taxation* 179): the document is a double receipt, which records payments in 180/1 for 179/80, and in 184/5 for [183/4?]. The deduction can be extended and confirmed. If we list receipts under the year for which payment was due ('tax-year'), as opposed to the year in which payment was made ('payment-year'), we have: 104/5 PFay. 330; 131/2 PTebt. 361; 159/60 SB 8982; 163/4 SPP xxii 135; 171/2 PFamTebt. 39, PMich. IV passim; 179/80 BGU 342, BGU 816; 183/4 [BGU 342]. On the assumption that tax-year is almost always the same as payment-year, we can add: 191/2 SPP xxii 111–13, 144; 195/6 PLond. ii p. 109, 451. All these dates conform exactly to a four-year cycle 131/2, 135/6, 139/40, etc. The only exception is the earliest, PFay. 330, if correctly read: i.e. the beginning of the cycle postdates 104/5. SB 8056, for a year 11, may be assigned to 107/8 or 147/8.

This cycle coincides with that deducible from payments of γεωμετρία in PMich. IV (see PCol. V p. 275, **2847** 16 n.); and with the fiscal *lustrum* of PMarmarica, on either possible interpretation (Rea, *Parola del Passato* 112 (1967) 52). PMarm. uses the term πενταετία. διὰ τετραετηρίδοϲ in **3030** presumably refers to the same duration in a different aspect. Does it mean 'every fourth year'? or 'over a period of four years' (i.e. like the γεωμετρία this tax could be paid in instalments up to the year of the next assessment)?

On this scheme, 207/8 would be a tax-year. **3030** was written half-way through 206/7, the year in which the previous cycle terminated (4 λήξαντοϲ). The object was presumably to tidy accounts and determine arrears for the tax-year 203/4, before the new assessment.

6 ιν...ϲ: we expect ἵνα τὰϲ. α before ϲ is quite possible; but τ is excluded, indeed the ink strongly suggests χ. Dr. Rea suggests ἵν’ [ἀϲ] ἔχε[ι]ϲ. This gives admirable sense, and suits the traces; but there is not space for [ἀϲ].

8 Perhaps] ἐμοί; or e.g. ταχέω]ϲ μοι.

10 Restore [ὑπὸ or [διὰ?

14 f. ἀρκούμενον: the phrase ἀρκουμένου μου τῇδε τῇ διαϲτολῇ is common enough at the end of petitions (most recently PMilVogl. III 170. 15, 180. 30). In W. *Chr.* 402 Aur. Hermophilus replies to a liturgical assignment (ἐπίϲταλμα) from the prytanis with a formal refusal (ἀντεπιϲτέλλω) and an offer of *cessio bonorum*: ἀρκεϲθήϲομαι γὰρ τῷδε τῷ ἀντεπιϲτάλματι ἐν μεγίϲτῳ δικαιώματι (col. i 19 f.). The point is the same in all cases: the present document, that is, suffices in itself to assert the subject's full rights in the situation. So in **3030** Ammonius' letter is his last word, unless further information comes to hand.

16 The restoration seems inevitable, though the lacuna after ἐρρῶϲθαι is enough for at least six letters.

17 (ἔτουϲ) ιϛ′: of ε the back and most of the cross-bar are missing. θ might have been considered; but the expected remains of its right-hand arc are not to be seen.

21 Παχὼ(ν) κ′: the main text is dated 31 March (20); this subscription belongs to 15 May; 6 June appears in the further note in the top margin. You might expect 21 to be a record of delivery. But if so the letter took a month and a half to arrive. In any case I cannot reach a satisfactory reading of the rest of the line. δι(ὰ) [ἐ]μοῦ ......αρ ὑπ(ηρέτου) would suit the ink; what intervenes should be an (abbreviated?) proper name. But αρ shows no normal mark of abbreviation.

23 β..⁻.: βγρ⁻ is a possible reading. Perhaps then Ἀμμ]ώνιοϲ β(αϲιλικὸϲ) γρ(αμματεύϲ).

3031. Official Letter of *Procurator Alexandreae*

29 4B.46/G (1–3) a   20·3 × 13·5 cm.   *c.* A.D. 302

Aurelius Ammonius, the writer of this letter, is otherwise unknown. His title, *procurator Alexandreae*, has appeared in three earlier inscriptions (Pflaum, *Carrières* 1088 f.); none of these gives any clue to the duties of the office, if indeed an established office with defined duties is involved.

The addressee, Annius Diogenes, has occurred in other documents: (1) W. *Chr.* 186 and SB 4421. 6 (date lost): comarchs of Caranis acknowledge official payment for tunics provided by them (as a military requisition, cf. e.g. PCairoIsid. 54); payment was made under orders of the διαcημότατος ἐπίτροπος Ann. Diogenes. (2) PSI 1125 (A.D. 302): a series of letters from Ann. Diogenes (without title) to the strategus of the Arsinoite, concerning the supply and dispatch of something; soldiers and centurions appear as emissaries. PSI 1125 shows that Diogenes held some office in 302; this accords with an unpublished text (inv. 39 5B.120/M (1–2) a), in which he appears alongside the *rationalis* Pomponius Domnus (A.D. 299–300). W. *Chr.* 186 and **3031** may belong to the same years. (MacMullen, *Aeg.* 38 (1958) 187 n. 1 and 196, dated W. *Chr.* 186 to *c.* 285–90; but the argument from price-trends is always treacherous.)

3031 states Diogenes' full title for the first time (and confirms a conjecture of Skeat, PBeattyPanop. p. xvi): *procurator Heptanomiae*. The post was known from **2114** (A.D. 316), where the subject is military supplies. Diogenes similarly deals with military requisitions in W. *Chr.* 186 and PSI 1125; with a corn-transport (perhaps then with *annona militaris*) in **3031**. This evidence does not support (or exclude) the view that this procurator functioned as successor of the epistrategus (Skeat pp. xvi f. points out other difficulties). His duties might be limited (say) to overseeing military supplies in the Heptanomia.

The *procurator Alexandreae* dispatched the corn-transport to his colleague, and presumably took charge of the corn when it arrived. Was his office the same as that of the *procurator ad Mercurium Alexandreae*, who certainly dealt in grain to some degree (**2567** 9 n.)?

The back is blank, except for the address.

→   Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ἐπίτροπος Ἀλεξανδρείας
　　　Ἀννίῳ Διογένει ἐπιτρόπῳ Ἑπτανομίας χαίρειν.
　　　πλοῖον cκαφόπρῳρον Διδύμου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυ-
　　　ρυγχείτου ου κυβερνήτης Κάνωπος ἀγω-
5　　γῆς ἀρτ]αβῶν [ἑ]ξακο[cί]ων ἀ[πέcτ]ειλα πρός cε
　　　　　]υρ..[　　　　　　　　]..θηναι
　　　　]αι.[　　　　　　　　]..ην

(*m.*²) ἐρ]ρῶςθαι εὔχ(ομαι) κύριέ μου

ἄδελ]φε πολλοῖς χρόνοις

10   ].[

·   ·   ·   ·

Back, →

Ἀννίῳ Διογ[ένει

'Aurelius Ammonius, Procurator of Alexandria, to Annius Diogenes, Procurator of the Hepta-nomia, greetings. I have sent off to you a hollow-prowed (?) boat, (property) of Didymus, from the Oxyrhynchite, captain Canopus, capacity six hundred artabas ... I pray for your health, my lord brother, for many years.'

6]..θηναι: perhaps]αχθηναι.

3032. PUBLICATION OF OFFICIAL LETTERS

A. B.32/A (6)   16 × 17·5 cm.   A.D. 218/19 or 222/3

This fragment contains the beginning of a covering note, in which the strategus Aurelius Harpocration introduces letters from two higher officials. Copies of the letters will have been attached. Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 125 ff., discusses this function of the strategus. PHarris 62 takes the same form.

The hand is a large and careful one of chancery type; the general effect is much like that of **2227** (*Aegyptus* 45 (1965) pl. 5), but without the tall bipartite *epsilon*. The back is blank.

There is one point of interest: the procurator πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιςκέψεςι, for whom see **3046** introduction.

α

→   παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἁρποκρατίωνος

        ςτρατηγο͞[ῦ] Ὀξυρυγχείτου.

        ἀ]ντίγραφον ἐπι[ς]τολῶν τῶν

        κρατίςτων τοῦ τε διοικητοῦ

5   καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιςκέψεςι

        τῶν ἀπὸ Τῦβι α ἕως

        Φαρμο[ῦθι ...] τοῦ ἐνεςτῶτος

        β (ἔτους) τ[οῦ] κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτο-

        ρος   *c.* 15   ]...[..

·   ·   ·   ·

2 οξυρυγ'χ-

'From Aurelius Harpocration, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite. A copy of letters from their ex-cellencies the dioecetes and the procurator for surveys, from Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi [30] of the present 2nd year of our lord the emperor . . .'

Upper margin. a: a column number? a/ would mean ἀ(ντίγραφον), but I see no trace of the abbreviation stroke (admittedly, the surface is much damaged).

6 f. Perhaps the four months Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi 30 (the second third of the regnal year).

8 β (ἔτους): the reading is almost certain (the upper part of an open-topped cursive beta). The choice of emperor depends on the dating of the strategus Aur. Harpocration. He is already in office in **1283**, of 25 June/28 Aug. 219; still in office in **2348** 52, of 12 Sept. 224. There is no reason to think that his term was interrupted (Mertens, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 351). The nearest predecessor is]ος (*Archiv* 7. 223); the composite document in whose heading he appears contains dates of 218 and of 2 Jan. 219. The nearest successor is Aur. Antyllus, attested for 13 June 225 (**2566** ii 1: the restoration Ἀν[τύλ]λῳ, and the dating, are now guaranteed by XLIII **3103** of April/May 226. Within these limits two dates are possible for our document: 2 Elagabalus, A.D. 218/19; or 2 Alex. Severus, 222/3. The tiny traces in line 9 do not allow a decision.

3033. PETITION TO PREFECT

27 3B.43/B (1–2) b   13·5 × 12 cm.   *c.* 45/7

This petition is probably a draft, to judge from the interlinear additions in lines 4 and 9 f. The back has been reused for various pieces of writing. Along the fibres, in large formal letters: ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝΟϹ. Across the fibres are two texts in parallel columns, and a third upside-down in relation to them. The best-preserved appears to be an unfinished petition or application:] . . . . ωι ² παρὰ Θέωνο(ς) τοῦ ³ Πτολλίω(νος)· ὁ υἱός μου ⁴ Πτολλίω(ν) ἀφῆλικος ποιμ(ενικῆς?) vac.

Thaesis addresses her petition to the prefect C. Julius Postumus. She alleges that she and her elder son are being forced into slavery, and refers to an earlier petition made to the ex-prefect Marcus Heius.

Heius is new. His prefecture fits conveniently between those of L. Aemilius Rectus (last attested on 29 April 42) and of Julius Postumus himself (first attested on 8 August 45). The name was made available to Prof. Reinmuth for his new list of prefects, *BASP* 4 (1967) 80.

The transcript omits lines 8–10, of which only the first few letters are legible; and a joining fragment with nine further line-beginnings.

→   Γαίωι 'Ιουλίωι Ποστόμωι   [
       παρὰ Θαήσιος τῆς ῞Ωρου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆ[ς
       Μικρᾶς 'Οάσεως. ἀγομένης μου σὺν τῶι [πρεϲ-
       βυτέρῳ μου υἱῶι ῾Φιλαδέλφωι' εἰς δουλαγωγίαν ὑπὸ .[. . . .
5   τοῦ Ϲεύθου καὶ τῶν τούτου ἀδελφῶν ἐ̣[νέτυ-
       χον Μάρκωι Εἴωι τῷ ἡγεμονεύ[ϲαντι
       ἐπὶ διαλογιϲμοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ . . . .[. . . .

             ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

'To Gaius Julius Postumus, from Thaesis daughter of Horus, one of the inhabitants of the Little Oasis. I was being led away into slavery, I and my elder son Philadelphus, by . . . son of Seuthes and his brothers. So I petitioned Marcus Heius the former prefect at the nome-assizes . . .'

4 εἰc δουλαγωγίαν: cf. 38 10, where the phrase is certainly literal and not rhetorical. The action involves only the elder son, which suggests that the *status libertatis* of the whole family was not in question. Perhaps mother and son had defaulted on a debt: though enslavement for insolvency is very ill attested in Greco-Egyptian law, see Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 231 f.

6 Εἴωι: for the name, see Reinmuth l.c. It appears elsewhere in Greek, but in the spelling ˙Ηιοc (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2. 10 f.; *BCH* 82 (1958) 562).

3034. Sworn Declaration

Plate XI

22 3B.14/F (7–8) b   7 × 21 cm.   5 April 148

Only the foot of this document survives: oath, date, subscriptions. The back is blank. The subscription comprises signatures of the exegete or ex-exegete, and the gymnasiarch or ex-gymnasiarch; line 2 locates property or persons in the Cretan quarter. It seems likely that the subject was the epicrisis of a privileged metropolite. Declarations of this kind are listed by Wallace, *Taxation* 403–5, and by Bingen, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 116–17.

The interest of the piece is palaeographic. The first hand is small and sloping; β and κ have the cursive shape, but there are few ligatures; the most distinctive letter is ε, narrow and with a projecting tongue. The general effect is of a literary script; Roberts, *GLH* 15b, of similar date, makes a companion piece.

        .   .   .   .   .

→   ]..[

     ἀ]μφόδου Κρητικ(οῦ) καὶ

     ὀ]μνύω Αὐτοκράτορα

     Κα]ίcαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον

5   Ἁ]δριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον

     C]εβαcτὸν Εὐcεβῆ ἀλη-

     θῆ] εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμ-

     μ]ένα. (ἔτουc) ια Αὐτοκράτοροc

     Κ]α[ί]cαροc Τίτου Αἰλίου

10   Ἁδριανοῦ Ἀν[τ]ωνείνου

     Cεβαcτοῦ Εὐcεβοῦc

     Φαρμοῦθι ῑ. (m.²) Διονυc( )

     ἐξηγ( ) cεcημ(είωμαι). (m.³) Αἴλ(ιοc) Διογ( )

     γυμνα( ) cεcη(μείωμαι).

'. . . Cretan quarter; and I swear by Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that the foregoing is true. Year 11 of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pharmouthi 10. (2nd hand) I, Dionys( ), exegetes (or former exegetes) have signed. (3rd hand) I, Aelius Diog( ), gymnasiarch (or former gymnasiarch) have signed.'

12 ff. Who are these officials? In the third century at Oxyrhynchus applications for epicrisis are addressed to a pair called οἱ πρὸc τῇ ἐπικρίcει (Mertens, *Services* 103, 113): two former gymnasiarchs in **2186** (A.D. 260), an ex-gymnasiarch and an ex-exegete in SB 9161 and 9162 (3rd century) and PSI 457 (A.D. 269, see POxy. XL p. 19 n. 6). Before this, addressees differ:

1028 (A.D. 86) strategus, royal scribe, four γραμματεῖc τῆc πόλεωc.
1266 (98) and **1452** (127/8) strategus, royal scribe, οἷc ἄλλοιc καθήκει.
PSI 731 (1st/2nd) and W. *Chr.* 218 (132) bibliophylakes.
The signatories of **3034** might be bibliophylakes, though it is not normal to refer to their previous offices (cf. **2664** 13–14 n.). Alternatively, this might be the beginnings of the third-century practice. οἱ πρὸc τῇ ἐπικρίcει occur in the Arsinoite as early as 121/2 (BGU 109. 1).

13 Διογ( ): a Diogenes, former agoranomus and gymnasiarch, appears in **2588** of the same year.

3035. ORDER TO ARREST

Plate X

19 2B.76/F (8–11) a   11·7 × 9·5 cm.   28 February 256

This document is of familiar type: see the list and discussion of the parallel texts in PMichBrowne pp. 47 ff. It is written along the fibres on a slip which is almost square; both features put it with a minority, but quite a substantial minority, of the parallels. The issuing official is specified in the heading: this is normal in the third- and fourth-century texts, though not earlier. The addressees are the comarchs and the ἐπιcτάται τῆc εἰρήνηc: exactly the same in **1507** and **64**. But in two things **3035** does stand aside from the other such orders: it carries a precise year-date; and it comes from the prytanis. For the second I find no parallel, except one new piece from Oxyrhynchus to be published by Dr. A. K. Bowman; for the first, no parallel at all.

The back is blank.

The interesting point is the adjective attached to the name of the wanted man: Πετοcορᾶπιν Ὥρου χρηcιανόν. I see no interpretation of this except as 'Christian' (4–5 n.). The question then arises, whether Petosorapis' religion was the thing which interested the prytanis, or was merely incidental.

If the first, we might be tempted to link this piece with the persecution under Valerian. This persecution seems to have had two stages (see for the sources P. J. Healy, *The Valerian Persecution*). (1) Bishops and priests were required to sacrifice or be exiled; the holding of Christian assemblies was perhaps to be punished by death. The measures against the higher clergy had been communicated to the proconsul of Africa before (and presumably not long before) Cyprian appeared before him on 30 August 257 (Knopf–Krüger, *Ausgew. Märtyrerakten*[4] 62). (2) The next stage, some time in 258, attacked the clergy and senators, *equites*, and *caesariani* (Cyprian, *Ep.* 80. 2). Before this persecution there had been a lull since Gallus; Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* 7. 10) dilates on Valerian's early benevolence.

It is clear then that our text comes more than a year before legal measures were taken against the Christians; and further that Petosorapis is unlikely to have belonged to the distinguished groups which were eventually attacked. This is not to say that for particular times, places, and persons, Christian practices may not have drawn the hostile attention of the authorities. But we can deduce nothing of that from our document; even the rare intervention of the prytanis does not guarantee an exceptional situation.

On the face of it, then, 'Christian' may be no more than an individuating description : similarly other such orders specify the profession, as in 2576 πέμψον "Ερωτα οἰ[ν]έμπορον. But the document still has considerable interest. It is, with PSI 1412 (see 4–5 n.), by far the earliest use of the word 'Christian' in the papyrus documents; and it suggests that Petosorapis (who like many early Christians will have found no difficulty in his theophoric name) did not conceal his religion and indeed could be identified by it among the inhabitants of Mermertha.

←   π(αρὰ) τοῦ πρυτάνεως

     κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάταις εἰρήνης

       κώμης Μερμέρθων. ἐξαυτῆς ἀνα-

       πέμψατε Πετοσοράπιν "Ωρου χρησι-

5   ανόν, ἢ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνέλθατε.

     (ἔτους) γ″ Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Cεβαστῶν

       Φαμενὼθ γ̅.

   1 π′   2 επιστάταις corr. from επιστατη

'From the prytanis, to the comarchs and supervisors of the peace of the village of Mermertha. Send up immediately Petosorapis son of Horus, Christian (?), or else come up yourselves. Year 3 of Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, Phamenoth 3.'

4–5 χρησιανόν: I can only interpret this as χρης⟨τ⟩ιανόν, 'Christian' (the form in -η- is of course normal, see Blass–Debrunner *NTGramm.* § 24). The spelling without *tau* recurs in PSI 1412. 10, as restored by Dr. Rea (2785 2 note) : διεπ]εμψάμην coι δι⟨ὰ⟩ Cωτοῦ τοῦ χρησια[νοῦ] τάλαντα δύο. This is probably a phonetic spelling, cf. e.g. SB 4284. 7 πλείc⟨τ⟩ων; Dr. Gignac was able to cite eight third-century examples of this sort of assimilation. A parallel phenomenon is the variation between -cc- and -cτ-, of which examples are given in PPetaus 10. 6 note : hence perhaps *crissana* and *cressiani* in Latin inscriptions (Diehl, *ILCV* 1330, 1337).

3036–3045. Receipts for ἐπικεφάλαιον

These ten documents more than double the material bearing on the ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως, without solving its problems. For a general account, see the introduction to **2578-9**. The receipts may be set out chronologically as follows:

		date	payment for	amount	no. of persons	signatory
(1)	3036	24.2.298	297/8?	1,200	1	
(2)	3037	4.3.298	297/8?	1,200	1	Sarapion
				1,200	1	systates
(3)	3038	4.3.298	297/8	1,200	1	
(4)	2578	30.3.298	296/7	2,400	2	Didymus
(5)	3039	29.5.298	296/7	1,200	1	Didymus
(6)	3040	17.12.298	296/7	1,300	1	systates
(7)	3041	June 299	297/8?	1,200	1	Sarapion
(8)	3142	26.7.301	300/1	1,200	1	none
(9)	PSI 163	301/2		1,200	1	Lucius systates
(10)	PSI 780	20.7.305	303/4	400	1	illegible
			304/5	1,200		
(11)	PSI 302		308/9	doubtful[1]		doubtful
(12)	3042	308/9?	308/9?	1,600	1	Morion
		310/11?	310/11?			
(13)	3043	3.9.311	311/12?	3,200	2	Aphous and colleagues
(14)	2579	4.8.313	312/13	1,600	2	Heraclides meniarch
		(311?)	(310/11?)			
(15)	3044		312/13	2,400	1	Elias and colleagues
(16)	PSI 462	20.8.314	314/15	2,400	1	Athenodorus systates
(17)	3045	314/15	315/16	2,400	1	Aur. Politicus and colleagues

The increased evidence still attests no year of this tax earlier than 296/7, and no city other than Oxyrhynchus. Most payments are of 1,200 dr. or its multiples; but there is no obvious pattern to the divergences. All the receipts except (8) have signatures (no. 11 is probably damaged); and of these all except (15) have signatures

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[1] See **3142** 12 note. If the view there taken is correct, the receipt is unfinished or broken: the sum (and perhaps a signatory) came later.

in the same hand as the text—the documents, that is, must be either copies of the originals, or holographs of the issuing officials. (2) and (7) contain two receipts on the one sheet; (1), (5), (8), (10), (12), and (17) leave space blank for a second receipt.

The systates is the most frequent signatory. (1)–(3) and (7) are issued by Sarapion, (4)–(6) by Didymus. Sarapion signs both in 298 and in June 299; if then it is the same Sarapion, we can conclude that the systates continued to be responsible for payments for his own year as they came in later: Sarapion apparently for 297/8 (**3036** 2 n.).

On two points the diplomatic changes in the later receipts. The trade of the payer is certainly specified in (7), (8), (12), (14), (15), and (17), and probably in (13); this may connect with payment through a guild (**2578–9** introd.). A second difference is the mention of 'orders' under which the payment was made. (8), and (10) to (16) inclusive, cite orders, either with specification of the official or else (8, 16) orders unspecified. The officials cited are the prefect (8, 10, 12, 13), the catholicus (11), a διασημότατος (14, ? 15). Were the orders for the imposition of the tax, or for its amount? Do we deduce that in this period (A.D. 301–14) the levy was specifically renewed each year?

3036

28 4B.58/B (6–8) a   7·2 × 24·5 cm.   24 February 298

→   διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου
      πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος
      (ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ ιγ″ καὶ ϛ″
      τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
5   Διοκλητ[ιανο]ῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
      ϲεβαϲτ[ῶν] καὶ Κωνϲταντί[ου]
      καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-
      νεϲτάτων καιϲάρων
      ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Κορνηλίου
10   Καρπουγγίου δραχμὰς
      χιλίας διακοϲίας γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄϲ.
      (ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ϛ″
        Μεχεὶρ λ̄.
         Ϲαραπίων ϲυϲτάτη(ϲ)
15   ϲεϲη(μείωμαι).
    (m.²) παρ οριου
    Back ↓ (m.³) ἀποχαί
18   → (m.⁴) . . . . . . ωνος
        κ̣α̣ὶ Ϲαραπίωνος

1, 9 ὕπερ   10 l. Καλπουρνίου   14 cυcτατῇ   15 cεcη˪

'There was paid for capitation tax of the city, for the past 14th and 13th and 6th year of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesars, in the name of Cornelius Calpurnius, one thousand two hundred drachmas, making 1,200 dr. Year 14 and year 13 and year 6, Mecheir 30.

I, Sarapion the systates, have signed.

From Horius (?).

(*Back*) Receipts

..... and of Sarapion.'

2 f. Either διελθόντος is a mistake for ἐνεcτῶτος; or else the numerals in 3 are a mistake for ιγ ιβ ε. The same choice in **3037** 2 f. **3038**, dated the same day as **3037** and signed by the same systates as both **3036** and **3037**, has ἐνεcτῶτος. If we assume that each systates was responsible for one year's receipts, we must choose to emend διελθόντος, for the year 13–12–5 belonged to Didymus and not to Sarapion (**2578**, **3039–40**).

16 The scribe left a gap between παρ and οριου; the gap is not fully explained by a deep crease in the papyrus. But παρ' ὁρίου or ὁρ⟨ρ⟩ίου seems to lead nowhere. Perhaps παρ' Ὁρίου: the agent who paid for Cornelius. If (despite the gap) παρορίου was intended, the meaning would presumably be 'on the outskirts of the city' (PMerton 34. 11 n.).

17 ἀποχαί: the same docket **3037** 36, there justified because the sheet contains two receipts. Perhaps the writer intended to add a second on the lower half of **3036**, which is in fact occupied only by παρ' Ὁρίου.

3037

29 4B.56/C (8–9) b   6·7 × 23·8 cm.   4 March 298

→   διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου

      πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος

      (ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ϛ″

      τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν

5   Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ

      Μαξιμιανοῦ cεβαcτῶν

      καὶ Κωνcταντίου

      κα[ὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν

      ἐπιφανεcτάτων και-

10   cάρων ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος

      Παύλου Διονυcίου

      δραχμὰς χιλίας

      διακοcίας γ(ίν.) (δρ.) Ἀc.

      (ἔτους) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ϛ″

15   Φαμενὼθ η'.

Ϲαραπίων ϲυϲτάτηϲ

ϲεϲη(μείωμαι).

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόματοϲ

Ἀντινόου Εὐδαί-

20 μο]νοϲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

(ἔτουϲ) ιδ″ [κα]ὶ (ἔτουϲ) ιγ″ καὶ

(ἔτουϲ) ϛ″ τῶν κυρίων

ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ

καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ϲεβαϲτῶ(ν)

25 καὶ Κωνϲταντίου καὶ

Μαξ]ιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-

νεϲτάτων καιϲάρων

ὑπὲρ ὀνόματοϲ

τοῦ αὐτοῦ δραχμὰϲ

30 χιλίαϲ διακοϲίαϲ

γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀϲ.

(ἔτουϲ) ιδ″ καὶ (ἔτουϲ) ιγ″

καὶ (ἔτουϲ) ϛ″ Φαμενὼθ η′.

Ϲαραπίων

35 ϲεϲη(μείωμαι).

Back ↓ ἀποχαί

10, 18, 28 ὕπερ   17, 35 ϲεϲηˡ   17 at the end, two pen-trials   24 ϲεβαϲτῶ

2 διελθόντοϲ must be a mistake for ἐνεϲτῶτοϲ, as at **3036** 2 f.

35 If 34 is correctly read, and 34 and 35 are aligned, there is no space in 35 for ϲυϲτάτηϲ, even in abbreviation.

3038

29 4B.56/G (8–9) c   5·3 × 18 cm.   4 March 298

→   διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπι[κ]εφα-

λαίου πόλεωϲ τοῦ

ἐνεϲτῶτοϲ (ἔτουϲ) ιδ″

καὶ (ἔτουϲ) ιγ″ καὶ (ἔτουϲ) ϛ″

5   τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)

Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
cεβαcτῶν καὶ
Κωνcταντίου
10 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεcτάτω(ν)
καιcάρων ὑπὲρ
ὀνόματος Κοπρέ-
ως ἐπίκ(λην) Χοοῦc
15 Φιλίcκου δρα-
χμὰc χιλίαc
διακοcίαc (γίν.) (δρ.) Ἀc.
(ἔτουc) ιδ′ καὶ (ἔτουc) ιγ′
καὶ (ἔτουc) ϛ″
20 Φαμενὼθ η′.
Cαραπίων
cυcτάτηc
cεcη(μείωμαι).
Back ↓ [. . .].αι . . . . .[

5 ημω̄   11 επιφανεcτατω̄   12 ὕπερ   14 Or ἐπικ(αλουμένου)   23 cεcη⁻

24 Possibly ἀπο]χαὶ κεφαλ[αίου. But the second word forces the traces.

3039

28 4B.60/B (1–3) a   8 × 21·3 cm.   29 May 298

→   διεγράφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλ[αίου
τοῦ διελθ[ό]ντοc ⟨ἔτουc⟩ ιγ′ καὶ [ιβ′
καὶ ε′ τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μῶν
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
5   Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ
Κωνcταντίου καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ cεβαcτῶν
ὀνόμ(ατοc) Ἀνουβίωνοc Ἀφυ[γ-

χίου δραχμὰς χιλίας
10　　διακοcίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄc.
(ἔτουc) ιδ′ καὶ ιγ′ καὶ ϛ″
Παῦνι δ′. Δίδυμοc cυcτά-
τηc cεcημίωμαι.

1 ϋϛ　　　8 ονοᵘ　　　12 παϋνι　　　The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank

3040

28 4B.62/B (5–7) c　　　　　　　7·3×7 cm.　　　　　　17 December 298

→　　διεγράφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικαιφαλαίου
τοῦ διελθό[ν]τοc ιγ′ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ιβ′ κ̣[αὶ] ε′
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμι̣α̣ν̣οῦ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Κ̣ω̣ν̣cτα̣ν̣-
5　　τίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ cεβα-
cτῶν ὀ̣[ν]ο̣(ματοc) Ἀρίου δραχμὰc
χιλία[c τρ]ιακοcίαc (δρ.) Ἄτ.
(ἔτουc) ιε′ καὶ ι[δ]″ καὶ ζ′ Χοιὰκ κ̅α̅.
Δίδυ[μο]c̣ cυcτάτηc δι’ ἐμοῦ
10　　Ἐπ[ιμ]άχου cεcημίωμαι.

ακυρ.....ο̣c τῆc προ-
τέρας ἀποχῆc.

1 l. επικεφ-　　　*Back*: blank

2 ιβ′ seems clear; the two damaged numerals are read on this basis. The payment therefore must be for the last year but one, A.D. 296/7. The original receipt (11 f.) had presumably been lost. **3040** is the replacement; and, though issued in 298/9 (l. 8), retains διελθόντοc from the original wording (Rea).
11 Perhaps ἀκύρο̣υ̣ ὄ̣[ν]τ̣ο̣c, l. οὔcηc.

3041

28 4B.60/C (13–15) a   8·5 × 14 cm.   14/23 June 299

→   (ἔτους) ι[ ]′ καὶ (ἔτους) ι .″ [κ]αὶ [(ἔτους).]″ .[........]ριων

    ἡμῶν Διοκλητια[νοῦ] καὶ

    Μ[α]ξειμειανοῦ [σεβαστ]ῶν καὶ

    Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξειμειανοῦ τῶν

5   ἐπιφανεστάτων καισάρων ὑπὲρ

    ἐπικεφαλαίου π[όλ]εως ὀνόματος

    Ϲιλβανοῦ πραγμα[τ]ευτοῦ δραχμὰς

    χειλίας διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀϲ.

       (ἔτους) ιϛ″ καὶ (ἔτους) ιδ″ κ[αὶ (ἔτους)] ζ″

10   Παῦνι κ[.]⌐.

       Ϲαραπίων ϲε[ϲ]η(μείωμαι).

    5 ὕπερ   10 παῦνι   11 ϲε[ϲ]η⌐   *Back*: blank

1 Before this we should expect a line of the form διεγράφη ὑπὲρ τοῦ διελθόντος. But the surface, where preserved, shows no trace of ink. The space available after the numerals in 1 is too long for τῶν κυρίων alone: perhaps τ[ῶν αὐτῶν κυ]ρίων. Both considerations suggest that we have only the lower part of a double receipt.

The date is difficult. In 9 ιδ is certain, and the other two numerals can be read to conform. In 1 nothing much survives except the ι of the first and second numeral. If the systatai were responsible for the arrears of their year, even after leaving office, and if this Sarapion is the same as in 3036–8, restore L ι[δ]″ καὶ L ιχ″ καὶ [L ϛ]″.

3042

28 4B.60/C (20–1) a   7·3 × 26·3 cm.   308/9 or 310/11

→   διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου

    τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε΄ καὶ γ (ἔτους)

    Φαῶφι δ′ ἀκολούθως

    τοῖς κελευσθ(εῖσι) ὑπὸ τοῦ

5   διαση(μοτάτου) ἡγεμόνος

    Ζακάων Λουκίου

    ὀνηλάτης ἀργ(υρίου) δρα-

    χμὰς χειλίας ἑξακοσίας

       (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἀχ.

10   Μωρίων ϲεϲη(μείωμαι).

4 κελευς^θ   5 διαςη⁻   6 l. Ζακάωνος   7 l. ὀνηλάτου   10 ςεςη⁻   Lower
part of sheet (18 cm.), and back, blank

2 The '5th and 3rd' year might be 308/9 (Maximinus and Constantine, ignoring Galerius), or
310/11 (Constantine and Licinius, ignoring Galerius and Maximinus). 2579 3 note.

<div align="center">

3043

</div>

39 3B.76/F (1-2) a   12·2 × 12·2 cm.   3 September 311

→   διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλέου πόλεως
        ἀκο[λ]ούθος τοῖς κελευςτῖςι ὑπὸ τοῦ
        διαςημοτάτου ἡγεμώνος ὀνόματος
        Ἀντίνους καὶ ὡς χρηματίζι
5   καὶ Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς ʼ .[.]ριςτῃαι ́ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
        ⟦χιλιας⟧ τριςχιλίας διακοςίας γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) ʼΓϲ.
        (ἔτους) κ″ καὶ η″ Θὼθ ε′.
        Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Ἀφοῦς καὶ τῶν κυνωνῶν
        ϲεϲημίωμαι.

    1 ὑπερ   l. -κεφαλαίου   2 l. ἀκολούθως, κελευςθεῖςι   3 l. ἡγεμόνος   ον- corr. from ων-
4 l. Ἀντινόου   5 l. Ἀμμωνίου υἱοῦ   8 l. οἱ κοινωνοί   Back: blank

    5 .[.]ριϲτῃαι: α has been corrected from ι; the preceding letters are certain. This should specify
the trade. The initial trace is the left end of a high horizontal, e.g. τ. Apparently not χ[ει]ριϲτ{η}αί.

<div align="center">

3044

</div>

35 4B.71/B (1-3) b   12·5 × 13 cm.   312/13, 313/14

        .   .   .   .
→   τος αἰνάτου .τ..[..] ἑβδό-
        μου (ἔτους) θ καὶ ζ (m.²) καὶ ϛ
        (m.¹) ὑπὸ τοῖς καιλευϲθεῖ[ϲι] ὀνό-
        ματος Παύλους Ἡρακλέου
5   ταπητᾶ ἀργυρείου
        τραχμὰ δειϲχειλεία
        τετρακοϲία (γίνονται) ʼΒ (δρ.) υ.
        (m.²) Ἠλίας καὶ ὑ κυνωνοὶ ϲεϲη-
            μείωμε.

10   (m.³) διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλέου

ὑπὲρ ἔτους (ἔτους) η′ καὶ ϛ″

(m.⁴) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωσταντίνου καὶ Λικι[νν]ίου σεβαστῷ(ν)

(m.⁵) ἀκολούθω[ς τ]οῖς κελευςθε[ῖ]σι δι.. ο ...

.].[......]. Παύλου[.........].[.].[.].[..]..

.   .   .   .   .   .

1 l. ἐνάτου   3 l. κελ-   4 l. Παύλου   6–7 l. δραχμὰς δισχιλίας τετρακοσίας   7 'Βϛυ
8 l. οἱ κοινωνοί   9 l. -μείωμαι or -μειώμε⟨θα⟩   10 ὑπερ l. -λαίου   11 ὑπερ ετους ⌐ ή
Back Blank

'. . . ninth . . . seventh . . . year 9 and 7 (2nd hd.) and 5 (1st hd.) under the orders in the name of Paulus son of Heraclius, carpet-man, two thousand four hundred drachmas of silver, making 2,400 dr. (2nd hd.) I Elias and my colleagues have signed.

(3rd hd.) There was paid for the capitation tax, for the year 8 and 6 (4th hd.) of our lords Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, (5th hd.) in accordance with the orders . . .'

1–2 The year is 312/13; the receipt for the next year (line 11) follows on the same sheet. Presumably we should restore ἐνεστῶ]τος (rather than διελθόν]τος or εἰσιόν]τος) at the beginning of line 1. After αἰνάτου the traces allow ἔτος [καὶ], but not ἔτου[ς.

4–5 The same payer in 3045 (for 315/16).

8 Here, as in 3045, the receiving officers form a κοινόν. But who were they? Cf. 2855 1; 3137 1.

13–14 Reconstruction has to rest on two premises, neither certain: that κελευςθε[ῖ]ςι was so written in full; and that Παύλου is a correct reading. Before the putative π is a small high loop, i.e. perhaps ὑπέ]ρ (though one might expect the shaft of *rho* to show) or ὀν]ό(ματος); and if that is right, we expect the end of 13 and the beginning of 14 to contain the title and perhaps the name of an official; but if so ὑπὸ τοῦ must be missing, and what follows must be taken as δι⟨ας⟩ημοτ⟨άτ⟩ου. Alternatively the payment might have been made through someone: but δια was not written (most like διη.ρτου).

3045

28 4B.62/B (4) a   13·3 × 26 cm.   314/15

→   διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικαιφα-

λίου τοῦ ἰσιόντος (ἔτους) ι″ καὶ (ἔτους) η′

Παῦλις Ἡρακλήου ταπητᾶς

ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχι-

5   λίας τετρακοσίας (δρ.) 'Βυ.

Αὐρήλιος Πολιτικὸς καὶ ὑ κυ-

νωνὺ σεσημιώμεθα.

1 ὑπερ l. επικεφ-   2 ἰσιον-   6 f. l. οἱ κοινωνοί   Heavy kollesis to left. Lower part of sheet (19 cm.), and back, blank

3 The same man, in the spelling Παύλους Ἡρακλέου, in 3044 4.
6 f. ὑ κυνωνὺ: 3044 8 note.

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN
OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

3046–3050. Documents of the Reign of Philippus Arabs

These five documents are grouped together, because they supplement the material collected in *JRS* 57 (1967) 134 ff. It was suggested, on the basis of the older evidence, that Egypt underwent a wide administrative reform in the reign of Philippus Arabs: the object was to counter declining productivity; measures were taken in at least three sectors (agriculture, liturgies, taxation and the *annona*); some at least of these measures were taken by an extraordinary commission, consisting of the *rationalis* Claudius Marcellus and his assistant procurator Salutaris. Of the new material:

3048 illustrates the decline in production: corn was so short in March 246 that the state resorted to compulsory purchase. Similar cτενοχωρία was already attested for October 248 (PErl. 18, cf. **2854**).

3050 includes another proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris: the subject was apparently the restoration of correct boundaries of plots. Here, as in **78** and PLeit. 16, the commission shows its concern for accurate land-records.

3046, 3047, and **970** (for which **3046** now provides a date) are returns of un-irrigated and artificially irrigated land. This traditional operation again helped to bring some realism into registers of land and the tax due upon it. A general survey of the same kind took place in the Great Oasis, under orders of Marcellus and Salutaris: *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3018 (now published in *JEA* 57 (1971) 165). Two of the new pieces (**970** and **3046**) refer to the orders of a special official, ὁ πρὸc ταῖc ἐπιcκέψεcιν.

3049 provides the earliest mention of decaproti in Oxyrhynchus, and gives a little support to the view that the office was a new creation of the Philippan reform. Deca-proti also figure in **3050**, where (as in PLeit. 16) they concern themselves with amending the land-register.

2664 15 suggests that the office of phylarch was introduced as part of the same reform. Dr. A. K. Bowman has deduced a related change in the structure of liturgical tribes: see *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 150.

3046. Return of Uninundated and Artificially Irrigated Land

20 3B.31/E (1–5) e   6·8×21 cm.   244/5

This return belongs to a well-attested type: see the list by C. Préaux, *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 120 f.; add BGU 2022–3, **3047**. Its main interest is the official whose orders are cited: Aurelius Antoninus ὁ κράτιcτοc πρὸc ταῖc ἐπιcκέψεcιν. Antoninus has already

appeared in **970**, an ἀπογραφή of unknown content and date, in which his title was uncertainly read; this return can now be restored and dated.

Before A.D. 197 returns of uninundated land invariably cite the orders of the prefect: Préaux, loc. cit. 127. After that date, practice varies:

BGU 2023 (198/201) orders of the procurator Publ. Cerealis
BGU 2022 (202) orders (official not specified)
BGU 139 (202) orders of the prefect
PHamb. 11 etc. (Préaux, loc. cit. 120) (202) orders of the procurator Cl. Diognetus
PFamTebt. 51 (206) no orders mentioned
PFamTebt. 52 (208) orders (official not specified)
PTebt. 324 (208) orders of the prefect Subatianus Aquila
1459 (226) orders of the prefects and ex-epistrategus
1549 (240) no orders mentioned
3046 (244/5) and **970** orders of the πρὸς ταῖϲ ἐπιϲκέψεϲιν Aur. Antoninus
3047 (245) no orders mentioned.

In this sector, as in others, the Severan reorganization clearly introduced an elaboration of bureaucracy, with the delegation of special problems to special officials. It is even possible that the office πρὸς ταῖϲ ἐπιϲκέψεϲι was created under Severus, and existed as a continuous appointment. (Cf. A. Stein, *Charisteria Rzach* (1930), 178.) But the evidence is insufficient: (*a*) the office as such is attested for *c.* 220 (**3032**), 223 (PSI 1066), 232 (W. *Chr.* 41 iii 14), and 244/5 (**3046, 970**); (*b*) three earlier procurators, whose title specifies no particular department, might, from their functions, have held this office: Publius Cerealis (*c.* 198/201 : W. *Chr.* 235, BGU 2023), Clau. Diognetus (202/4),[1] Clau. Alexander (206–7 and 208–9: W. *Chr.* 235). And the variations of authority cited in the returns perhaps suggest *ad hoc* arrangements.

There is some evidence that such returns were (or might be) submitted annually, not only in years of defective flood (PMich. VI pp. 9 f.). The practice apparently lapsed in the chaos of the later third century: **3046–7** and **970** are the last known returns of this type.

3046, 3047, and **970** form a group not only in date, but also in a diplomatic feature: all three are docketed on the back with the name of the village to which they refer. In both **3046** and **970** the declarant is an Antinoite.

→   κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Πα]κερκῆ
    παρὰ Αὐρη]λ(ίου) Ϲαραπίωνοϲ
    Ἡρα[κ]λείδου τοῦ καὶ Πα-
    νάρουϲ ἀγορανομήϲ[αντ(οϲ)
5   τῆϲ Ἀντινοέων πόλεωϲ.

[1] The view that he was *proc. usiacus* has very slight foundations: *JRS* 57 (1967) 139 n. 53.

κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευσθέντα) ὑπὸ Αὐρηλ(ίου)

Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κρατίστ(ου)

πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεσι

περὶ ἀπογρ(αφῆς) ἀβρόχου καὶ

10 ἐπηντ(λημένης) ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὸ

ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) Μάρκων

[᾿Ιουλίω]ν Φι[λί]ππων

κ̣α̣ι̣[σά]ρων [τῶν] κ̣υρί[ων]

π̣[ερὶ] κ̣ώμην Πα-

15 κ̣ε̣ρκὴ ἐκ τ[οῦ C]ωστρά-

τ̣ο̣υ παρεμ[βο]λῆς ἀπη-

λιώτου χ[ώμ]ατος καὶ

ἐποικίου Μενεκράτους

λε̣[γο]μένου εἰς Πολυ-

20 δεύκην ῾Ηρακλείδου

(μοναρτάβου) [[.]].[....]ντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) θ

καὶ (πρότερον) Πτο[...]λ̣ε̣μαίου

᾿Επιμάχου εἰς Πούπλιο(ν)

Αἴλιον ῾Ηρακλείδην

25 κατοικ(ικῆς) (μοναρτάβου) ἐπηντλ(ημένης)

(ἀρ.) ιβ καὶ εἰς Πτολεμαῖον

Cαραπίωνος τοῦ Cαρα-

πίωνος (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) ιβ ἄλλαι

(ἀρ.) η (ἥμισυ) (γίνονται) (ἀρ.) κ (ἥμισυ) τὸ ἐπι-

30 βάλλον μοι μέρο(ς) (μοναρτάβου)

ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ιβ καὶ περὶ τὸ Cα-

τύρ[ο]υ̣ ἐποίκ(ιον) ἐκ το(ῦ) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)

.....ριδ̣... ε̣ἰ̣ς

Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ώ̣ν̣ι̣[ον] Κ̣ράτωνο(ς)

scanty remains of four more lines

(Back) → Π]ακερκή

2 αυρη]λ   6 κελ αυρηλ   7 κρατιϲτ   9 απογρϛ   10 επηντϛ απογρϛ   21 α⸗]ντλ
22 α′   23 πουπλιο   25 κατοικ α⸗ επηντλ   28 α⸗   29 ηϛ′ κϛ′   30 μερο α⸗
31 επηντλ   32 εποικ εκ τ° αλεξανδ

'To the comogrammateus of Pakerke, from Aurelius Sarapion son of Heraclides *alias* Panares, former agoranomus of the city of the Antinoeis.

In accordance with the orders given by Aurelius Antoninus the most excellent (procurator) in charge of surveys, regarding the registration of uninundated and artificially irrigated land, I register for the present 2nd year of the Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares our lords:

Near the village of Pakerke, from Sostratus' lot, (at) the embankment of the east camp (?) and the so-called Farmstead of Menecrates: in the name of Polydeuces son of Heraclides, land paying one artaba . . . artificially irrigated, 9 arouras; and former property of Ptolemaeus son of Epimachus, in the name of Publius Aelius Heraclides, catoecic land paying one artaba artificially irrigated, 12 arouras; and in the name of Ptolemaeus son of Sarapion and grandson of Sarapion, land paying one artaba, 12 arouras (and) another 8½ arouras, making 20½ arouras: my share in this, land paying one artaba artificially irrigated, 12 arouras.

And near the Farmstead of Satyrus, from Alexander's lot . . .'

6 ff. This confirms the guess πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκ(έψεσι) in **970**, which will be of about the same date. No basis remains for identifying Antoninus with the acting prefect Antinous (215/16).

15–19 After C]ωστράτου understand κλῆρου, as usual. The two following phrases presumably locate the land more precisely. Neither is attested elsewhere; the first is of unexpected shape, but I cannot find a reading to replace παρεμ[βο]λῆς. εἰς introduces the name of the lessee, see **3048** 5 n.

21–2 In 22 it would be convenient to suppose that the lacuna contained no writing: the scribe simply split Πτο|λεμαίου across a flaw in the writing surface. If this is right, we might make the same assumption in 21, and read the expected formula (μοναρτάβου) [[.]] ϛ[πη vac.]ντλ(ημένης).

29–31 One group of areas finishes in 31, and the next begins. Since μέρος thus comes at the end of the section, it presumably refers to the whole series, rather than to the 20½ arouras leased to Ptolemaeus.

3047. Declaration of Uninundated and Artificially Irrigated Land

27 3B.39/J (4–5) a   14 × 40·2 cm.   25 February/26 March 245

This document clearly comes from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος: it is numbered '36' in the upper margin; and there are remains of a join along the left edge. The docket Φοβώου has been added on the back, in the top right-hand corner.

The text is a declaration of land, addressed to the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages. More specifically (though no direct statement is made in the intro-ductory formula, line 4) it is an ἀπογραφὴ ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐπηντλημένης: a familiar type, for which see **3046**.

The total of land declared is considerable: *c.* 1,700 arouras, spread through five villages in the eastern toparchy. The declaration is correspondingly long, and ex-ceptionally elaborate: it lists the plots village by village, with the taxation-status of each; dates are given, sometimes for purchase (ὠνημένη α ἔτους), sometimes for registration (ἀναγραφεῖσα α ἔτους), sometimes without specifying (see 6 note). The closest parallel for all this is not in the other declarations, but in the register PMendesGenev. (SPP xvii pp. 9 ff.).

Much of the land is catoecic, or comes from old κλῆροι or (37) δωρεαί. The rest is described, in a new term, as ἐκ τῆς ἀγυοτομήτου. All of it is leased out, the bulk to a group called οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου.

The dates are expressed as bare year-numbers; except for two references to Tiberius (25, 31), the name of the emperor is never stated. I assume that any one

figure is deemed to apply to the first reign which will accommodate it, reckoning in reverse chronological order from A.D. 244/5.[1] The scribe saw no ambiguities in this system, except for the remote years of Tiberius, which are therefore particularized. Thus:

Dates of registration	α	(Philip) 244
	β	(Philip) 244/5? (Gordian III) 238/9? (if the former, the registration was made in the six months between the beginning of the year and the date of **3047**)
	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40

Some year-numbers stand by themselves, with no participle attached; all these are α; no doubt they refer to registration in 244.

Dates of purchase:

line 10	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40
lines 21 f.	ιβ θ	} (Alexander Severus) 232/3 and 229/30
lines 25 f.	κγ	(Caracalla) 214/15
	β	Tiberius 15/16
	κ ιθ	} (see note on 25)
lines 30 f.	ιε	(Septimius Severus) 206/7
	κθ	(Commodus) 188/9
	λ	(presumably Commodus, rather than Augustus; perhaps years within one reign go in normal chronological order) 189/90
	ιβ	Tiberius 25/6
	θ	(Tiberius) 22/3
line 33	ιγ	(Alexander Severus) 233/4
line 35	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40
	δ	(Gordian III, 240/1, with the years again in normal order? or Maximinus, 237/8?)

This table illustrates the growth of a holding over two and a half centuries: purchases of catoecic and cleruchic land under Tiberius; then nothing until Commodus.

The owner of the land, Calpurnia Heraclia, must have been a rich woman. The part of her property declared here amounts to some 1,700 ar.; **3048** (March 246) shows that she owned considerable deposits of grain in the lower and eastern toparchies, and employed πραγματευταί and φροντισταί to look after them. Her father had been

[1] A similar set of unspecified years was tentatively postulated for PMarmarica by Dr. Rea (*Par. del Passato*, 1967, p. 52).

a Fellow of the Museum. One of her guardians had been prytanis of Oxyrhynchus
(**3048** 13). No doubt this was a family of Alexandrian notables.

I am much indebted to Professor Youtie for his help with this text.

λϛ

→ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Φοβώου καὶ ἄλ(λων) κω(μῶν) τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τοπ(αρχίας)

παρὰ Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας τῆς καὶ Εὐδαμίας θυγατρὸς [Καλπουρ-

νίου Θέωνος τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ ϲειτηθέντων διὰ Αὐρηλίου ['Ἱέρακος

γραμματέως· ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸϲ β (ἔτος) ἣν ἔχω περὶ Θμ[οινακωμ( )

5 ἀγυοτο{το}μήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεϲπαϲιανοῦ καὶ Τίτ[ο]υ

ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρούρας) ϲελ‾ιϛ ἐπηντλ(ημένης) α

(ἔτους) (ἀρ.) ιγη‾ ιϛ′ γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) καὶ

ἐπη(ντλημένης) ἀν(αγραφεῖϲαι) α (ἔτους)

(ἀρ.) ϲιηϑ′ ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου ἐν τάξει τῶν παρ . . ια . [. .] . ϲκεπομένων

εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου ἀν(αγραφεῖϲας) β (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) (ἥμισυ)

Θμοινεψώβθεως ἀγυοτομήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεϲπαϲιαν[οῦ

10 καὶ Τίτου βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖϲας) γ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) δγ′ ἰδιω(τικῆς)

α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπέλ(οις) ἐκκεκομμ(εν) ἀβρόχο[υ

(ἀρ.) υ‾ξαδλβξδ ἐ[π]ηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κϛ (μοναρτάβου)

ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀ⟨πὸ⟩ τοῦ οἴκου

ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρ‾ζϑ ἐπηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς (ἀρ.) ϲπϑ‾ιϛ καὶ εἰς

Διόδωρον τὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)

θηξ‾δρκη ἄλ(λης) ὠνη(μένης) . .

ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ καὶ εἰς Ἀντίοχον ϲαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἐξακῶντος διὰ

15 τῶν υἱῶν (μοναρτάβου) [ἀ]βρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) εϑή ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.)

ιεϑή γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς)

ἀν(αγραφεῖϲαι) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δγ′ ⟨ἰδιω(τικῆς)⟩ α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)

υξαδ‾λβξδ (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρλϑξδρκ[η]

γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) χβδηξ‾δρκη ἐπη(ντλημένης) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κϛ

(μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) ϲπϑιϛ′ γ(ίνονται) ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) τϛ[ϑι′

ϲχοίβεως ἐκ τοῦ Πολυνείκου ϲὺν τῷ Μαινίϲκου καὶ . [. . .

ταίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγυοτομήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐ[εϲπαϲιανοῦ

20 καὶ Τίτου ἰδιω(τικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομ(μεν) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε κατοικ(ικῆς)

ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) κδ

ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) κζ γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) να ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ

ιβ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) [ε

θ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) ε γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ιδ βασιλ(ικῆς) …( ) γι⟋

ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) κλ(ήρων) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γι⟋

ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι ⟨ἰδιω(τικῆς)⟩ α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου)

(ἀρ.) λη ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) κζ

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικράτους κλήρου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν

25   Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) κγ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κ β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου

ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) ϛ

κ̣ (ἔτους) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) δ ιθ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κϛ γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) νϛ κατοι-

κ(ικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ξϛ d̅η̅ι̅ϛ̅ ἐπη(ντλημένης)

(ἀρ.) νγ L ι⟋ γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) ρκ γ(ίνονται) κλ(ήρου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρκβ d̅η̅ι̅ϛ̅

ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) νγ L ι⟋

γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γι⟋ ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι

⟨ἰδιωτικῆς⟩ α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε

(μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξ d̅η̅ι̅ϛ̅

γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ροε d̅η̅ι̅ϛ̅ ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) π L ι⟋

30 Ὀσοροννώφριος κ̣α̣τ̣οικ(ικῆς) ἐκ τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἰδ̣ι̣[ω(τικῆς)] (μοναρτάβου) ὠνη(μένης)

ιε (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου)

(ἀρ.) ιε κθ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι λ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κε ιβ (ἔτους) Τιβ(ερίου)

ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η θ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ϛ

γ(ίνονται) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) νϛ ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ

ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε (διαρτάβου) μεμισθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ

πάτρια τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) θ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά μοι μέρη

Τυχιννεκώτεως ἐκ τοῦ κάτω περιχώματος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ

35   οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) λε δ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.)

λα γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) α….( )

κλη( ) (ἀρ.) ξϛ   καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου περιχώματος καὶ τῶν (πρότερον)

Ἀρτεμιδώρου δωρεᾶς εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ)

καὶ Τίτου κατοικ(ικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ν ὠνη(μένης) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ριδ γ(ίνονται)

(μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξδ

(διαρτάβου) μεμισθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἀβ(ρόχου) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) β τὸ ἐπιβάλ(λον) μέρος.

40 (ἔτους) β′ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς

Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεστάτου

Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν Φαμενώθ.

(m.²) Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐδαμία δι᾽ ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἱέρακος γρ(αμ-

ματέως) ἐπιδέδωκα.

/ Θμοινακωμ(   )   / Ὀcοροννώφριος

45   / Θμοινεψώββθεωc   / Τυχιννεκώτεωc

/ Cχοίβεωc

(*Back*) ↓ Φοβώου

1 κωμογρ͙ 𝔞 κω απ𝔥 το)   4 β͙   6 ἰδιωτ α͙' εναμ) αβροχ επην𝔥 α͙' γ (= γίνονται)
αβ   επη   αῦ   α͙'   8 αῦ   β͙'   αβροχ   ͙'(= ἥμιcυ)   10 βαcὶ   αῦ   γ͙'   αβ   δγ)   ιδιω   α͙'
αμπὲ εκκεκομμ͙   11 επην𝔥 ὁμοῖ α͙'   α͙   ὁμοῖ   12 αβροχ   επην͙   ὁμοῖ   13 ωνῆ   γ͙
α͙   αβροχ   ὰ   ωνῆ   14 αβροχ   15 α͙   αβροχ   εϟῆ   επην𝔥   ιεϟῆ   γ   κμ   βαcὶ
16 αῦ   γ͙'   αβροχ   δγ)   α͙'   αβροχ   α͙   αβροχ   17 γ   αβροχ   επη   α͙'   α͙   γ   επη
18 1. Μεν-   20 ιδιω   α͙'   εκκεκομ͙   αβ   κατοικ   αβροχ   21 επην𝔥   γ   ωνῆ   γ͙   αβροχ
ιβ͙   22 θ͙   γ   αβροχ   βαcὶ   αβροχ   γ ἀ   βαcὶ   αῦ   23 αβροχ   α͙'   αβροχ   α͙
αβ   επη   α͙   25 ωνῆ   κγ͙   αβ   β͙   ὁμοῖ   26 κ͙   ὁμοῖ   γ   αβροχ   κατοικ   αβροχ
επη   27 γ   γ ἀ   αβ   επη   28 γ   κωμ   βαcὶ   αῦ   αβροχ   α͙'   αβροχ   α͙   αβ
29 γ   αβροχ   επη   α͙   30 οcορ   κατοικ   ἰδι[α͙   ωνῆ   ιε͙   αβροχ   31 κθ͙
αβροχ   λ͙   αβ   ιβ͙   τιβ'   επη   θ͙   αβροχ   32 γ   α͙   αβ   επη   α͙'   εναμ)   αβ
β͙   μεμιcθ   33 ιγ͙   αβροχ   35 ωνῆ   γ͙   δ͙   γ   αβ   36 κλη͡   α'   37 ουεc)
38 κατοικ   αβ   ωνῆ   αβροχ   γ   α͙   αβ   39 β͙   μεμιcθ   αβ   επιβ𝔞   40 ἰουλιου
41 ἰουλιου   43 αυρῆ   ἰερακοc   γρ͙

'Sheet 36
To the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages in the eastern toparchy, from Calpurnia
Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum, through her
secretary Aurelius Hierax:
I register for the present 2nd year land I possess at

THMOENACOM(   )

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and
Titus, private land, year 1, under vines,
uninundated $205\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$ ar.
artificially irrigated, year 1 $13\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$

total of land uninundated and artificially irrigated, registered year 1 $218\frac{3}{4}$

substandard land, productive, in the category . . ., (registered) to those of the House
aforesaid, registered year 2
uninundated $\frac{1}{2}$

THMOENEPSOBTHIS

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House
of the deified Vespasian and Titus:
royal land, registered year 3,
uninundated $4\frac{1}{3}$
private land, year 1, with vines which have been
cut down,
uninundated $461\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$
artificially irrigated likewise year 1   26
one-artaba land, likewise (registered) to those
aforesaid,
uninundated $107\frac{3}{4}$
artificially irrigated likewise (registered) to those

aforesaid　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　$280\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$

　　　　and registered to Diodorus alias Apollonius,
　　　　　　purchased year 3, at one artaba
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　$9\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{84}\frac{1}{128}$
　　　　further purchased land . . .
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　4
　　　　and registered to Antiochus son of Sarapion
　　　　　　and grandson of Exacon, through his sons,
　　　　　　one-artaba land,
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　$5\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$
　　artificially irrigated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　10
　　total = $15\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$

Total for the village
royal land, registered year 3,
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　$\overline{4\frac{1}{3}}$
private land, year 1
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　$\overline{461\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{84}}$
one-artaba land
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　$\overline{130\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{64}\frac{1}{128}}$
　　total uninundated　　　　　　　　　$602\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{84}\frac{1}{128}$

private land, year 1, 26 ar.
　　artificially irrigated
one-artaba land, $280\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$
　　total artificially irrigated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　$\overline{306\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}}$

SCHOEBIS

　　from the Polynicus estate combined with
that of Meniscus and ....taeus, and from the
undivided land, (registered) to those of the
House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:
　　private land, year 1, in an area cleared (of
vines),
　　　　uninundated　　　　　　5
　　catoecic land
　　　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　24
　　　　artificially irrigated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　27
　　　　total 51
　　purchased year 3
　　　　uninundated　　　　　　　　4
　　　　　year 12 ditto　　　　　　5
　　　　　year 9 ditto　　　　　　$\underline{5}$
　　　　total uninundated　　　　　14
　　royal land, registered year 3
　　　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　10

Total for the estates
royal land, registered year 3
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　　　(10)
private land, year 1
　　uninundated　　　　　　(5)
one-artaba land
　　uninundated　　　　　　　　　　　38
　　artificially irrigated　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(27)

and from the estate of Epicrates, (re-
gistered) to those of the House of the
deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 23
 uninundated   20
  year 2 Tiberius ditto   6
  year 20 ditto   4
  year 19   26
             —

 total uninundated   56
catoecic land
 uninundated $66\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$
 artificially irrigated $53\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$

 total 120

Total for the estate
          ———

uninundated $122\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$
artificially irrigated $(53\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16})$

Total for the village
royal land, registered year 3   —

uninundated   10
private land, year 1   —

uninundated   5
one-artaba land
uninundated $160\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$
        ————

Total uninundated $175\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$

artificially irrigated $80\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$

OSORONNOPHRIOS

catoecic land from the estate of Menodorus, private, at one artaba,
purchased year 15
 uninundated   15
year 29
 uninundated   10
year 30
 uninundated   25
year 12 Tiberius
 artificially irrigated   8
year 9
 uninundated   6
 total one-artaba land
 uninundated   56

 artificially irrigated   8

year 1, former vine-land
 uninundated   5
two-artaba land, leased hereditarily in year 13,
uninundated, of 9 ar. those parts which fall to me.

TYCHINNECOTIS

from the lower embankment, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 3	35
year 4	31
total uninundated . . .	66

and from the middle embankment and from areas formerly belonging to the gift-estate of Artemidorus, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

catoecic land	
uninundated	50
purchased land	
uninundated	114
total one-artaba land	
uninundated	164

two-artaba land, leased hereditarily,
uninundated, of 2 ar. the part which falls to me.

Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Julius Philippus the most noble and illustrious Caesar, Augusti, Phamenoth.

(2nd hand) I, Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, have submitted (this return) through me, Aur. Hierax, secretary.'

List of villages.

λ϶: for the numbering cf. **1549**; *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 124.

2 Καλπουρνίας ῾Ηρακλείας: she and her father appear again in **3048** 11 f. There is a Calpurnia Heraclia who leases out vineyards at some time in the third century (unpublished ἐπιδοχή, dated 'year 2'); there is a Calpurnia whose former property is mentioned in A.D. 269 (PErl. 101, from Oxyrhynchus). Otherwise I find no mention of either father or daughter, though this was clearly a rich office-holding family. Perhaps they were related to L. Calpurnius Gaius (prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in 222) and his son L. Calpurnius Firmus: for these and their connections see **2723** 1 note, **2848** introd.

3 cειτηθέντων: list by N. Lewis, *Mnemosyne*, 1963, p. 257; add **3047** and PMichShelton 620. 2.

4 Θμ[οινακωμ( ): see on 44.

5 ἀγυοτομήτου: again 9 and 19; the word is not attested elsewhere. I suppose it means 'not divided into fields'. 'And would not this in turn mean by implication "not equipped with the usual dikes, canals, etc. for the reception of the flood"? It is not surprising if the greater part of such land is reported as ἄβροχος, and only a small portion is rendered productive by artificial irrigation' (Youtie).

εἰς: understand cωματιζομένην, as e.g. PMich. VI 367. 12: the land is 'registered to' the lessees, that is, they are responsible for the taxes; **1113** i 17 note.

τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου: an οἶκος of Alexandria PFay. 87. 5 (ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑπαρχόντων οἴκου); an οἶκος of Antinoopolis PSI 449. 6 (it owns γῄδια); an οὐcία οἴκου καίcαρος PLips. 96. 3. BGU 1182 mentions τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου (of Alexandria?) leasing out land.

Vespasian and Titus certainly owned estates in Egypt: PBour. 42. 78, 96 etc.; BGU 1894. 93 ff.; Tomsin, *Studi Calderini Paribeni* ii 223. It looks as if οἶκος was the still surviving designation of some or all of these estates. Prof. Youtie suggests that the persons mentioned are tenants of the former estate who have taken on land from Calpurnia Heraclia as a group (for such groups compare the πιττάκιον of e.g. PCairIsid. 24. 1).

6 ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις): cf. 10, 32. In the last passage this resolution fits rather awkwardly (after ἀπό). We should perhaps consider ἐναμπ(ελικοῦ) as an alternative; but the adjective is not attested, except perhaps at PSI 1328. 49 ἐκ τοῦ Διονυcοδώρου [κ]λήρου ϛυτο....λικου εναμπελ[..]ου ἀρουρῶν δέκα.

ἀν(αγραφεῖcαι) a (ἔτουc): cf. 8, 10, 16, 22, 28. Here the phrase corresponds to the simple a (ἔτ.) earlier in the line. This makes it clear that the years cited are years of acquisition/registration; they do not date the condition (uninundated etc.) of the plot described.

7 ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου: substandard land which has been improved into production. Prof. Youtie remarks that PBeattyPanop. 2. 128 f. describes precisely such land: περὶ τῆς ἐϲϲταρμένης ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀφόρου.

τῶν παρ..ια.[..].cκεπομένων: ἐ]πεcκεμμένων is not a possible reading; neither is ἐ]πιcκεπ⟨τ⟩ομένων. Palaeographically the most likely readings are τωνπαρ..ιαϛ⁻ [(as if a (ἔτουc), followed by a numeral- or abbreviation-stroke); then]ηcκεπομενῳν.

9 Θμοινεψώββεωc: 1659 55 etc.

10 ἐκκεκομμ(εν): cf. 20; PFouad 67. 12 ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμένων ἀμπέλ[ων] καὶ παραδε⟨ίc⟩ων; PRyl. 207a. 33 ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμ(ένου); PLeit. 16. 8 f. ἐξ ὅλων ἐκκ[ε]κομμένου ἀρουρῶν δύο. This cutting naturally put the land in a lower category for taxation: 2847 i 5–7.

11 (μοναρτάβου): for the adjective e.g. 2473 18, PSI 1328. 47; the editors of 1459 and 1549 preferred the resolution a (ἀρτάβης). One-artaba land is a substantive category: thus in 1044 it is distinguished from βαcιλική, and in PSI 1328. 47 ff. from ὠνημένη. But it overlaps others, as is clear from the totals in this document: 23–9 (ἐπηντλημένη) μοναρτάβου ἀρ. κζ+κατοικικῆc ἀρ. νγ (ἥμιcυ) ιϛ = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. π (ἥμιcυ) ιϛ; 38 κατοικικῆc ἀρ. ν+ὠνημένης ἀρ. ριδ = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. ρξδ. For catoecic land at one artaba cf. 3046, SB 9866 and PTebt. 324, corrected in PFamTebt. 51. 15 n.; the rate in general is discussed by Préaux, *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 131.

13 ὠνη(μένηc): cf. 21, 25, 30, 35, 38. For the omission of the syllabic augment in this form, Dr. Gignac refers me to PMich. 254 and 255, line 3; 270 19 etc.; 346; PSI 1328. 50.

ὠνη(μένης)..: the first of the doubtful letters looks like a; but the second suits neither ϛ (a ἔτουc) nor ⫶ (μοναρτάβου).

16 ρλϑϛ̄δρκ[η]: the correct figure is 126¾ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$. That is, he counted the four arouras (line 14) twice.

17 χβd͞η͞ϛ̄͞δ͞ρ͞κ͞η: the correct figure would be 461¼ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ + 130¾ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$ = 592 $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{128}$. (This assumes the two sub-totals to be correct, though the second is in fact wrong, see 16 note.) Youtie saw that 10 ar. of ἐπηντλημένη (line 15) was mistakenly counted in; the discrepancy of the fractions may be a simple blunder. The total for ἐπηντλημένη (306¼ $\frac{1}{16}$) is accordingly 10 ar. short.

18 Cχοίβεωc: the same village 2583 25 (where the reading is thus confirmed).

22 ...( ) γίϛ: here, and at the end of the line, and again in 28, γίϛ is a copying error for γϛ', i.e. γ (ἔτουc). At the second and third places, the word preceding is ἀν(αγραφεῖcαι), as the formula requires. ...( ) equally must represent an original ἀν(αγραφεῖcαι); but the copyist has blundered and produced something which looks most like γονο̄.

25 After '2 Tiberius' we have years '20' and '19': i.e. 20 and 19 Augustus (strict reverse chronological order)? or 20 Tiberius and 19 Augustus (allowing normal chronological order within a single reign)? Not 20 and 19 Caracalla, unless the sequence is jumbled.

30 'Οcορονvώφριοc: the scribe has written an arc-shaped sign over the first *rho*: normally a mark of abbreviation, here perhaps to separate the two parts of the Egyptian compound. The sign is not repeated in 44. This village is not in *WB* III or *WBSuppl.* Prof. Youtie remarks that the word occurs, in the form 'Οcορνῶφρις, as a title of Osiris (see PWarren 21. 3); and suggests that the village was a dependency of a temple of Osiris.

κατοικ(ικῆc): the scribe wrote βαcι, then altered the first three letters to κατο. The old category coexists with ἰδιωτική later in the line, cf. Roberts and Skeat, *Aeg.* 13 (1933) 466.

32 (διαρτάβου): cf. 2473 19, where corn-land from the κλῆροc of Rhodon and Agasicrates is divided between μονάρταβοc and διάρταβοc; 1031 12.

32–3 μεμιcθ(ωμεν) εἰc τὰ πάτρια: cf. Lenger, *Corp. Ord. Ptol.* 53. 11 f. (royal ordinances of 118 B.C.) πλὴν τῶν μεμιcθωμένων εἰc τὸ πατρικὸν [καὶ] ὧν δ[ι]εγγύη(μα) ὑπάρχει; a similar provision ib. 34 i 17 (PKroll, discussed by Koenen, *Ptolemäische Königsurkunde* 25). PHarris 138 i 24 (1st century A.D.) has εἰc τὰ πάτρια by itself; PPetaus 44. 13 (later 2nd cent.) μεμιcθ. εἰc τὰ π(ατρικά). 3047 is still later than these. It might be thought that the phrase refers merely to a fossilized Ptolemaic land-category. But if τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) goes with what precedes, the lease was clearly a real one, contracted in 233/4 (13 Alexander Severus). The participle μεμιcθ(ωμεν) is obviously passive, of the land leased; in *Corp.*

Ord. 53 it is normally taken as personal ('les fermiers qui ont un bail héréditaire et qui ont fourni caution'), which indeed the context suggests.

34 Τυχινεκώτεως: **1659** 54 etc.

35 ἀ.....( ): αἱ οὖσαι ³⁶ κλη(ρουχικαί) (Rea) makes excellent sense; but a high trace at the end of 35 (as of a suspended letter) remains unaccounted for. Alternatively, an abbreviated proper name *A*.....( ) and then κλή(ρου); Ἀρτεμιδ(ώρου) (cf. 37) is not satisfactory.

36 f. The same embankment and estate in **280** 10.

44 ff. Each village has been checked off with a slanting stroke. Θμοιvακωμ( ) is not attested elsewhere. The superscript final letter looks like *mu*, rather than an undifferentiated abbreviation-stroke.

3048. Proclamation of *Iuridicus* and Registration of Corn

Plate XII

23 3B.13/E (3) a　　　　　　　　15·5×34 cm.　　　　　　　17–18 March 246

This text is written across the fibres on the back of **3028**; in the upper margin of **3028** are two short lines of cursive, which might doubtfully be read as a docket to **3048**: ἀ(ντίγραφον) ἀπογρ(αφῆς) καὶ προγρ(άμματος). Basically, then, a sheet or roll of official correspondence was cut down and reused. But some further process seems to have intervened: there is a heavy *kollesis* to the left of **3048** (extending under the first two or three letters of each line), and this additional strip shows occasional line-ends from some previous writing.

The text has two parts, both written by the same hand:

1–9: proclamation of the *iuridicus* Aurelius Tiberius, requiring that all private stocks of corn in the city and nome (of Oxyrhynchus) be registered within twenty-four hours; in case of evasion, the treasury will confiscate both the corn and the house in which it is found. Date: 17 March A.D. 246.

10–24: registration submitted on the following day (18 March) by Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia: corn held by her at five villages in the lower and eastern toparchies, to the total of 5,045 artabas less amounts already committed for wages and other expenditure.

The proclamation presupposes a shortage of corn around Oxyrhynchus. The same situation had already been deduced from other documents of about the same date: in PErl. 18, of 27 October 248, the prytanis refers to supplies for the city, to the prevailing στενοχωρία, to gymnasiarchs discharging the eutheniarchy; **1418** mentions appointments to the eutheniarchy in A.D. 247; **2854** shows a gymnasiarch refusing the eutheniarchy on 12 November 248. (See N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 114.) **3048** shows just how severe the crisis was at one stage: so severe that the regime resorted to compulsory purchase at prices which would have been high even for the private market (6 note).

Shortage on this scale suggests a low Nile, or perhaps a series. There might be evidence for this in **3046** and **3047**, declarations of land uninundated for 244/5: if, that is, the flood of 244 was defective, there will have been a poor harvest in 245; grain is always scarce, and prices high, in March, just before the new harvest; in March 246, with only the remnants of a poor crop, the shortage would have been severe. The argument is plausible but uncertain; it assumes that such declarations were

made only for bad years; against this see PMich. VI pp. 9 f. (D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil* 59 and 256, classifies the flood of 244 as 'good'; but her evidence is ambiguous.)

The proclamation requires private stocks to be registered; lines 10–24 contain a copy of a registration duly submitted by Calpurnia Heraclia through her guardians. The whole sheet will be a private copy for the use of her agents. This explains the use of scrap papyrus; and the abbreviated dates in 9 and 24.

Here too I am greatly indebted to Professor Youtie.

↓   ἐξ αὐθεντείας Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου τοῦ κρατίστου δικαιοδότου.

ὅσοι ϲεῖτον ἔχουϲι ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ] νομῷ, ἀπογραψά-

ϲθωϲαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν τὰς τροφὰς καὶ τὰς

δημοϲίας χρείας ἀνυϲθῆναι εϲτιν τῆς αὔριον ἥτις ἐϲτὶν

5   Φαμενὼθ κβ″ τοῦ ἀζημίου αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοντος, λήμψεται γὰρ

τὴν τειμὴν ἣν ὥριϲεν ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡμῶν ἡγεμὼν (δηναρίων) ϛ,

γεινώϲκοντεϲ ὅτι ἐάν τις εὑρεθῇ μὴ ἀπογραψάμενος οὐ

μόνον ὁ πυρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ οἰκία ἔνθα εὑρίϲκεται ἐκδικηθήϲεται

τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμιείῳ. (ἔτους) γ″ Φαμενὼθ κα⁻.

10   ἀ(ντίγραφον) ἀπογρ(αφῆς).

Αὐρηλ(ίῳ) Τιβερίῳ τῷ κρα(τίϲτῳ) δικαιοδότῃ π(αρὰ) Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας τῆς
           καὶ Εὐδαμίας

θυγατρὸς Καλπουρνίου Θέωνος τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουϲείῳ ϲειτηθέντων καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν

διὰ Αὐρηλίου Πεκύλλο[υ] τοῦ κ(αὶ) Θέωνος γυμναϲιαρχήϲαντος πρυτανεύϲαντος
           βουλ(ευτοῦ)

τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Χαιρήμ(ονος) τοῦ κ(αὶ) Δημητ( ) καὶ ὡς
           χρημ(ατίζει) ἐπιτρόπων· ἀπογράφομαι κατὰ

15   τὰ κελευϲθέντα ὑπὸ ϲοῦ ὃν ἔχω πυρὸν ὑπὸ πραγματευτὰς   (vac.)

     ἐν μὲν κτήϲει μου περὶ Ϲοῦιν (ἀρτ.) Ϝκ ἐν δὲ τῷ Δωϲιθέου (ἀρτ.) ϲμε ...

     καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰϲίου Τρύφω(νος) (ἀρτ.) ϲκ καὶ ἐν Θμοινεψώ(βθει) (ἀρτ.) νξ καὶ ἐν
           Λίλη (ἀρτ.) ϲπ

     κ]αὶ ἐν τῷ Ϲατύρου [(ἀρτ.)] ωκ   ...

     ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν προκ[ειμ]ένων δίδονται μηνιαῖαι ϲυντάξεις πραγματευταῖς τε

20   καὶ φροντιϲταῖ[ς καὶ] γεωργοῖς καὶ παιδαρίοις καὶ καταμηνείοις,

     καὶ ἐν τῷ Ϲατύρου ..[...]......ϲυ.αλλαγεῖϲαι ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ διελθόντος μηνὸς

     Μεχ[εὶ]ρ Κοπρεῖ κ[αὶ ..]πῶτι μαγείροις τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ παλαιότητος

     τ[ὸ] ἔλεον διεφθάρθ[αι] (ἀρτ.) ϲπζ.

(ἔτους) γ″ Φ[α]μενὼθ κβ⁻.

6 *   7 γεινωσκ-: κ corr. from χ   9 ἱερ-   10 α   απογρ⟋   11 αυρ⟋   κρ⟋   13 του^κ
βου^λ   14 οξυρυγχ   πο^λ   χαιρῆ   του^κ   δημη^τ   χρῆ   16 coυϊν   17 ἱϲιου   τρυφ^ω   θμοινεψ^ω
23 l. ἔλαιον

'On the authority of Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*:

All those who have corn in the city or in the nome, are to register (it), so that not only can the city have its supplies but also the public necessities can be fulfilled—tomorrow, which is Phamenoth 22—without sustaining any loss thereby, for one will receive the price which our most illustrious prefect has fixed i.e. 6 denarii—with the knowledge that if anyone is discovered not to have registered it, not only the corn but also the house in which it is found will be confiscated to the most sacred treasury. Year 3, Phamenoth 21.

    Copy of return:

To Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*, from Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum and however else he was styled, acting through Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon, former gymnasiarch and prytanis, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Chaeremon alias Demet... and however he is styled, her guardians: I register in accordance with orders given by you the corn which I possess in the hands of my agents:

in my holding around Suis, 3,020 artabas; in Dositheu, 245 art....; in Iseum Tryphonis 220 art.; in Thmoenepsobthis 460 art.; in Lile 280 art.; in Satyru 820 art....—Out of the above-mentioned, monthly allowances are given to the agents and stewards and farmers and boys and monthly workers. And in Satyru ..... already pledged(?) from the past month Mecheir to Copres and [ ]pos, cooks in the city, because the oil has gone bad from long keeping, 287 artabas. Year 3, Phamenoth 22.'

    1 ἐξ αὐθεντείαϲ: see **2664** 1 note; **3050** i 7.

Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου: no doubt identical with the *iuridicus* Cl. Aurelius Tiberius who honours the Philippi in an inscription from Philippopolis, *Ann. Ép.* 1908, no. 274. This identification, and the mention of Calpurnia Heraclia (11 note), make it likely that the third year mentioned (9, 24) is that of Philip. The proclamation therefore dates from 17 March 246.

    3–7 Something is wrong with the grammar. I assume that the words from ὑπὲρ τοῦ to ἀνυϲθῆναι form a unit of two parallel clauses; and that γεινώϲκοντεϲ in 7 refers back to ἀπογραψάϲθωϲαν. Then we must assume a parenthesis. It might begin with 4 ἔϲτιν τῆϲ αὔριον (which will have to mean 'this can be done tomorrow'), and end with line 6. More probably it begins with 5 λήμψεται, and ends with 6; in that case εϲτιν τῆϲ αὔριον is a mistake (by anticipation) for ἐπὶ or ἐντὸϲ τῆϲ αὔριον. Whichever view is taken, λήμψεται must be simple error for λήμψονται. The sentence in general is an oddly compressed way of putting two separate notions: the registration of stocks, and the compulsory purchase of these stocks.

    3 τὴν πόλιν: to judge from line 2, this city is Oxyrhynchus rather than Alexandria. It seems to follow that the proclamation was issued separately to each nome, or to this nome only.

    4 δημοϲίαϲ χρείαϲ: the phrase normally means 'liturgical duties' (W. *Chr.* 35 i 7, ii 1 and vso. 1; PMey. 8. 15; PFamTebt. 24. 54). It is not clear how the registration of corn would help the performance of these liturgies, except indirectly by assisting those concerned with collecting the *annona*. Youtie suggests that the point is much more basic: the government is trying to provide a subsistence for state officials, because even they are in danger of going hungry.

    6 (δηναρίων) ϛ: 24 drachmas: for one artaba, presumably (the original proclamation must have stated this; the copyist has abridged, as he did the dates in 9 and 24). The price is high. We have two groups of comparative material:

    prices in the normal market (Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 311; PSarapion p. 332)

PLond. 1226	A.D. 254 (?)	12 dr.
BGU 14	255	16
PErl. 101	269	24

prices for πυρὸс ϲυναγοραϲτικόϲ

2958	A.D. 99	16
2960	100	8
PSI 1262	137	8
PTebt. 394	149	7
2961-7	154 ·	8

By the standards of compulsory purchase, then, 24 dr. per artaba is (even allowing for a century of gentle inflation since A.D. 154) a very stiff price; well above the norm of the open market at this date, and up to the level reached in the inflation of the 260s.

8 ὁ πυρόϲ: this shows that ϲεῖτον in 2 has the restricted meaning 'wheat', not the wider meaning 'grain'. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 95.

11 Καλπουρνίαϲ ʽΗρακλείαϲ: see **3047** 2 note.

13 Πεκύλλο[υ]: this reading (by Dr. Rea) is supported by **1526** 9, which mentions a Πέκυλλοϲ ὁ καὶ Θέων γυμ(ναϲιαρχήϲαϲ) in A.D. 222/3; and by POslo 111, which has him as prytanis in 234/5.

16 ff. Suis, Dositheu, and Isium Tryphonis are in the lower toparchy; Thmoenepsobthis, Lile, and Satyru in the eastern toparchy. In **3047** Heraclia declares uninundated land in five villages, all in the eastern toparchy; these include Thmoenepsobthis.

16 (ἀρτ.) ϲμε ...: the signs which follow the numeral recur, isolated, at the end of 18. We might expect a fraction; or a summation beginning with γ(ίνονται). But I can find no convincing reading on these lines; and in any case neither suits 18. Prof. Youtie suggests that the original declaration had formulaic annotations by some official who checked the figures; the scribe of our copy failed to understand them, and simply drew what he thought he saw.

20 καταμηνείοιϲ: e.g. **2155** 8. The noun originally supplied was perhaps γεωργοί (PCZ IV 59-736. 36).

21 This is a new section, parallel with 16-18 (whereas 19-20 and 22-3 are further indented, to show that they merely continue what precedes). The 287 artabas are additional. They have some special status, somehow to do with two cooks from Oxyrhynchus and with oil which has gone rancid with age.

The crucial difficulty is the reading of the participle in line 21. Given that the letter before αλλαγειϲαι could be either ν or π, the possibilities are: (1*a*)]...... ϲυναλλαγεῖϲαι, (1*b*)]... προϲυναλλαγεῖϲαι; (2*a*)]......ϲ ὑπαλλαγεῖϲαι, (2*b*)]... προϲυπαλλαγεῖϲαι. The objection to (1*b*) and (2*b*) is, that the verbs are not elsewhere attested. The objection to (1*a*) and (2*a*) is, that προϲ- is a very plausible (though hardly a certain) reading; and πρό(ϲ) cannot be left in isolation.

If (1) were right, the corn was 'contracted' to the cooks, in place of oil which the estate had contracted to supply; if (2), it was mortgaged to them, in place of oil on which they had some kind of lien.

There remains the word(s) after ϲατύρου. The traces suggest ϲπ.[..].αι; ϲ might be e.g. ε, π might be e.g. ν;]. is the end of a high horizontal or linking stroke. Possibly ἐπο[ι]κ(ίῳ) αἱ προϲ- (Rea).

3049. Deposit of Grain

19 2B.76/F (4-5) b   13 × 29 cm.   26 January/24 February 247

This sheet carries two versions of the same text. **A** is written along the fibres in a good hand without abbreviations; **B** is written on the back, across the fibres, in a hasty hand with many abbreviations and several interlinear additions. It might seem that **B** is the draft (it omits the final date-clause), and **A** the fair copy. Against this there are two considerations. (*a*) **B** has a number of important details which **A** omits. (*b*) The papyrus is torn in such a way as to bisect the first letter in each line of **A**; whereas the lines of **B** generally end well short of the edge. This may suggest that **B**

was written after **A**, and a subsequent tearing of the papyrus: and indeed we should expect the verso text to be the later. In that case **A** is the first draft, and **B** the second. Neither is the finished document, for the quantity of corn is not specified (a blank at **A** 10–11, ποςάς at **B** 14).

In the space below **A** are two notes, written across the fibres. The first, perhaps by the same hand as the main text, reads:

$$\tau\iota c \ \dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\iota \ \alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\hat{\eta}c \ \kappa\dot{\upsilon}\rho\iota oc \ [\![\kappa\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon]\!] \ \ulcorner c\upsilon\nu\chi\omega\rho\eta\text{-}\urcorner$$
$$\ulcorner\theta\epsilon\grave{\iota}c \ \alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\hat{\eta}\urcorner \ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota} \ \ddot{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha \ \dot{\upsilon}\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho \ \alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\hat{\eta}c \ \mu\grave{\eta} \ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\upsilon\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta c$$
$$\gamma\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau(\alpha) \ [\![\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota} \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho]\!]$$

This is an unfinished draft subscription, designed perhaps for the guardian Callinicus (**A** 4–6) but expressed as a general formulary with τιc (cf. e.g. **2677**). The second note, in a different hand and upside-down in relation to the first, reads κρί⸀ττε–υπολο⸌θ.νων: perhaps κοῖτ(αι) τπε ὑπολόγ(ου) (after this e.g. θιψων or θ (ἔτους) νων; or θ might be α: no possibility makes obvious sense).

The main text is a contract of deposit for a certain quantity of corn. PStrass. I 54 and PFouad 58 are similar contracts; **1472** is an application to the archidicastes for the recovery of such a deposit. The formulae follow normal lines: see **2677** and the introduction there. But the situation here envisaged is abnormal, for it straddles the private and the public domain: (*a*) the grain deposited includes 'the additional percentages' (**A** 11, **B** 16); (*b*) it is to be delivered, not to the depositor, but τοῖc ἐπι-cταληcομένοιc ναυκλήροιc (**A** 12, **B** 15); (*c*) the depositor is to receive a receipt for the grain once delivered. It is clear, then, that the corn is state corn, part of the *annona*; it is to be handed over to shippers sent from Alexandria for it; the depositor Asclepiades is still responsible for the consignment (**B** 18), but the actual delivery is carried out by Didymus-Antonius and the others with whom the deposit is made; the shippers transmit through them to Asclepiades receipts for the amount delivered. Many such receipts survive, and illustrate the process: **2670** 1 and note.

This deposit, then, is a stage in the transmission of the *annona* from the responsible official to the shippers. Asclepiades was responsible, because he held office as decaprotus of the middle toparchy, and the corn was stored at Nemerae in the same toparchy: these details are given only in **B**. He here delegates part at least of his responsibility; this arrangement is unique in the surviving documents about the shipment of the *annona*; one wonders why it should have been necessary, and what profit Didymus-Antonius and the others made from the transaction, which is at their own expense.

The decaprotus took over the functions of the sitologus. The office is first attested for Oxyrhynchus by this document, for the Hermopolite in W. *Chr.* 375 of 246, for Philadelphia in PLeit. 16 of 244/7. I have suggested in *JRS* 57 (1967) 136 f. that it was first created, at least as a universal institution, as part of a wider reorganization under Philip the Arabian. The object of the reorganization was to increase the yield of the *annona*, and to facilitate its collection and transport; it may have been prompted by the

shortage which, in Oxyrhynchus at least, threatened the state's requirements in March 246 (**3048**). If the decaproteia was created to meet a crisis, we should be able to explain why it is held here by the most important man in the town (the prytanis), whose avocations made it necessary to contract with three other members of the buleutic class to perform the duties for him.

A

→   Αὐρήλιοι Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος βουλευ[τ]ὴς τῆς Ὀξυρυγχει-
  τῶν πόλεωc καὶ Πα . .αc ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦc οἱ τρεῖc Cαρα-
  πάμμωνος Φανίου γυμναcιαρχήcαντος τῆc Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν
  πόλεωc ἡ δὲ Ἀμμωνοῦc μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῇ
5   κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Αὐρηλίου
  Καλλινείκου Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀcκληπιάδῃ γυμναcιαρχήcαντι
  ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει βουλευτῇ τῆc αὐτῆc πόλεωc χαίρειν.
  ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔχειν cου ἐν παραθέcει πυ[ρ]οῦ γενήματος τοῦ
  διελθόντος γ (ἔτουc) Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Φιλίππων καιcάρων τῶν
10   κυρίων μέτρῳ δημοcίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβαc   vac.
    vac.   cὺν ταῖc ἑπομέναιc ἑκα-
  τοcταῖc, ἃc καὶ παραδώcομεν τοῖc ἐπιcταληcομένοιc ναυκλή-
  ροιc ἰδίαιc ἡμῶν δαπάναιc, καὶ τούτων ἀποχάc cοι ἐποίco-
  μεν ἄνευ πάcηc ὑπερθέcεωc καὶ εὑρηcιλογίαc, εἰ δὲ
15   μή, ἐκτείcομέν cοι κατὰ τὸν τῶν παραθηκῶν νόμον,
  τῆc πράξεωc cοι οὔcηc παρά τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων
  εἰc ἔκτειcιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἱρῇ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
  των ἡμεῖν πάντων· κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον διccὸν γραφὲν
  πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ cοῦ ἐπιφέρον-
20   τι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντεc ὑπὸ cοῦ ὡμολογήcαμεν. (ἔτουc) δ′
  Αὐτοκράτοροc Καίcαροc Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππ[ου] Εὐcεβοῦc
  Εὐτυχοῦc καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεcτάτ[ου]
  Καίcαροc Cεβαcτῶν Μεχείρ.

  9 ϊουλιων   13 ϊδιαιc   14 ὑπερ-   17 ὑπαρχ-   19 ὑπερ   21 ϊουλιου

B

↓   Αὐρήλιοι Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος

βουλευτ(ὴς) τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δί-

δυμος καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦς οἱ γ‾ Σαραπ⟨άμ⟩μωνος

Φανίου γυμνα(ςιαρχήςαντος) τῆς 〚Ὀξυρυγχ(ειτῶν)〛 ʽα(ὐτῆς)ʼ πόλεως, ἡ δὲ

5   Ἀμμωνοῦς μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῇ

κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη {τοῦ δεδομένου

αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη} τοῦ ἑτέρου

αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Καλλινείκου Α(ὐρηλίῳ) Ἀσκληπι⟨ά⟩δῃ

γυμνα(ςιαρχήςαντι) ἐνάρχ(ῳ) πρυτ(άνει) βου(λευτῇ) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) δεκα-

10   πρώτῳ μέςης τοπ(αρχίας) χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν

ἔχειν ςου ἐν παραθέςει (πυροῦ) γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διε(λθόντος) γ (ἔτους)

Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Φιλίππων καιςάρων τῶν

κυρίων ςεβαςτῶν ἐν κώμῃ Νεμέραις

μέτρῳ δημοςίῳ (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) ἀρτάβ(ας) ποςὰς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι)   *vac.*

15   καὶ ταύτας παραδώςομεν τοῖς ἐπιςταληςο-

μένοις ναυκλήροις ʽ〚ναυκλή(ροις) ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Νεμ〛ʼ cὺν ταῖς ἐπομέναις

ἑκατος-

ταῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις ἡμῶν δαπάναις αἲ ἐὰν

γείνωνται ʽ〚ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Νεμερῶν〛ʼ ςοῦ μόνον ἐπακολουθοῦντος

καὶ τούτων ἀποχάς ςοι ἐποίςομεν καθαρὰς

20   ἀπὸ πάντων ʽἐπὶ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) Νεμερῶνʼ τῆς πράξεώς ςοι οὔςης

παρά τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων

εἰς ἔκτειςιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἱρῇ

καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν πάντων.

κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον διςςὸν γραφὲν

25   πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ

ὑπὲρ ςοῦ ἐπιφέροντι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέν-

τες ὑπὸ ςοῦ ὡμολογήςαμεν.

2 βουλευτ‾ οξυρυγχ‾ πδ   4 γυμναϛ οξυρυγχ‾ α‾   8 α‾   9 γυμναϛ εναρχ‾ πρυτϛ
βου‾ α‾ πδ   10 το)   11 𐅵 γενημαϛ διε‾ γϛ   12 ϊου-   14 ϛʹαρταβ /⁓
17 ϊδιαις   20 α‾   21 -εγʼγυων

(Translation of **B**) 'The Aurelii Didymus alias Antonius, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Pallas alias Didymus, and Ammonous, all three children of Sarapammon son of Phanias, former gymnasiarch of the said city, Ammonous with the guardian assigned to her in accordance with the customs of the Romans, (namely) their other brother Callinicus: to Aurelius Asclepiades former

gymnasiarch, prytanis in office and senator of the said city, decaprotus of the middle toparchy: greetings.

We acknowledge that we hold from you on deposit, of the corn of the produce of the past 3rd year of the Marci Julii Philippi Caesares our lords the Augusti, in the village Nemerae, by the public half-artaba measure, such-and-such a quantity. And this we will hand over to the ships' captains who shall be sent for it, together with the percentages attaching, at our own expense whatever the expense may be: you are to exercise supervision (in this delivery), but nothing more (?). And for this (corn) we shall present you with receipts, free from any kind of flaw, at the said Nemerae; you have the right of execution upon us, who guarantee one another mutually for payment, and upon whichever of us you choose, and upon all our possessions. This chirograph is valid, being written in two copies, wherever it is produced and for whoever produces it on your behalf, and in answer to your question we have made acknowledgement.'

A 2 Πα..ac: the scribe wrote Παcλαc or Παcτac; whereas B 2 certainly has Παλλαc or Παττac. Παcτac and Παττac might be alternative spellings of a single name (PPetaus. 10. 6 n.), but neither is known to *NB* or *Onomasticum*. I assume that Πάλλαc is correct in B, and miswritten in A.

2–3 Sarapammon is not in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches.*

6–7 Asclepiades is here prytanis, in Mecheir 247. He appears as ex-prytanis in proceedings of Thoth 247 (**1418**). Presumably his successor took office on 1 Thoth. See A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 63.

11–12 ἑκατοcταῖc: cf. **2670** 34–6 note.

B 18 ἐπακολουθοῦντοc: in some of the receipts issued by shippers, the grain is said to have been loaded ἐπακολουθούντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆc ἐμβολῆc τεταγμένων καὶ ὧν ἄλλων δέον ἐcτίν (PSI 1053; **2125** 12; probably **1259** 20). Asclepiades is still strictly responsible for the grain, and must therefore provide his ἐπακολούθηcιc; but that is all (μόνον), the rest of the work falls to Didymus-Antonius and the others. Alternatively, μόνον might emphasize coῦ: 'You, and no one else, have the right of ἐπακολούθηcιc.'

3050. PROCLAMATION AND OFFICIAL LETTERS

19 2B.75/K (4) a 11 × 31·5 cm. Third century

Remains of two columns, the second at full height and the first nearly so. The sheet was cut down, so that only line-ends and line-beginnings remain; the initial lacuna in col. i is of *c.* 50 letters. The cut-down sheet was used for an account of jars, **3081** below. It was at this stage, presumably, that a single unfinished line was written between the two columns and at right angles to them; its beginning was hatched out, and the rest deleted with a single horizontal line. It reads: ⟦*c.* 17⟧ ⟦καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ἀπὸ μὲν α.[...].λου φορίμηc καὶ τῶν περι⟧.

The script of col. ii is more upright and less rapid than that of col. i: probably a different writer.

The main text is a collection of official documents:

i 9–27 proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris (*c.* 246–8) περί τε παροριcμῶν [καὶ ; a procedure is laid down for those who have such encroachments to complain of; the procedure involves decaproti and horiodeictae. There is some similarity with PLeit. 16, of 244/7, in which the petitioners complain of being assigned too much land (and the tax on it) in the registers; they appeal to the decaproti, invoking orders of Marcellus and Salutaris (ll. 24–5); the procedure is, that the comogrammateus and

horiodeictes should assist in a fresh survey of the disputed areas. Both exaggerations and encroachments have to be rectified, if the land-register is to be strictly accurate; and Marcellus and Salutaris perhaps had a special interest in an up-to-date survey of their province's resources (*JRS* 57 (1967) 135). It is even possible that **3050** dealt with both topics; at least τε suggests that something parallel with παρορισμῶν followed. In that case, this proclamation might be the one referred to in PLeit. 16. 24–5.

What follows is much more obscure. χαίρειν i 35 begins a letter; ἐνέτυχον ii 7, if first person, suggests a petitioner reviewing the past history of his case.

ii 29–35 and 38–43 are letters of Lissenius Proculus. Before the first is a heading, or possibly another short letter (ii 26–8). Before the second are two lines of connecting narrative. Nothing certain offers in the content except 37 τοὺς ἀφήλικα[ς.

Lissenius Proculus appears as acting prefect in PSI 870. This office normally falls to the *iuridicus*. The date is quite uncertain: PSI 870 was assigned 'to the second rather than to the third century' on palaeographic grounds. **3050** might contribute to the problem, if we could determine the link between the different items copied.

If the collection is a collection of precedents, the items may be widely separated in time. I see no way of excluding this possibility. But the length of the pieces quoted, and the connecting lines ii 36–7, weigh against it. If on the other hand the collection is one of incoming correspondence (*epistulae receptae*) or of documents relating to a single case or litigant, the items should cohere chronologically. The second of these is the more attractive: Lissenius Proculus (perhaps as *iuridicus*, cf. i 31) is addressed in i 35 ff. and replies in ii 26 ff.

3050 thus gives some ground for assigning Lissenius Proculus to the same period as Marcellus and Salutaris, and for redating PSI 870. This date can be supported on other grounds: see now J. R. Rea, *Akten d. XIII. int. Kongr. d. Pap.* (Marburg, 1971).

Col. i

→   ]η′

]．[．]χαριν．．．．

]αφροντιϲτον

]ανέϲτρεψεν

5   ]

]

]．ε παροριϲμῶν

]．ιη̄

]υ καὶ Μαρκίου Ϲαλου-

10]

] περί τε παροριϲμῶ(ν)

] ἐλάττονας ἀρούρας

]．ταϲ ζητήϲειϲ περα

]ιϲ δεκαπρώτοιϲ εν

15]τοιϲ τῆϲ τοπαρχίαϲ

] μετακαλεϲαμε-

] ὁριοδεικτῶν καὶ

]ειναι μ[ε]ταξὺ αυ

]．η．[．]αϲθαι ἵν’ οὕτω

20   ]παύϲηται καὶ

      ]διδω καὶ ειτι

        ]ηϲτετυ

]．． τούτῳ τῷ πρα

]εντοι τινεϲ

25]εϲθαι προϲ

]ν ἑκάϲτοιϲ τα

ἐ]ντυχεῖν. πρόθεϲ.

    ]

    ]ειδωϲιτοιϲτεδε

30]

]ιοδοτου

]

]．υ．[．]αχωνϲιοϲ

]

35]   χαίρειν.

]．．ιοϲ Ἀνουβίωνοϲ

]α．ματα Ἡρακλει

]επ．．．τηϲ δικαι

]．[．．．．]．．．．．

c. 4 lines lost

Col. ii

1 ．．．．．．[

καὶ οἰκοπέδων[

ὁάϲεωϲ διὰ του．．[

．ιαϲ και．．．．ενε[

5 ．]αι τούτων．．．．[

．．．．．αυτοιϲ．．．[

ἐνέτυχον και．．．[

τηϲ ἐπιϲτρατηγ．．[

μοι δίκαια προϲ．[

10 παραγγείλαϲ οιϲα．[

γνωρίμων μοι．[

ὑποϲτῆναι ων．[

δίκην οἱ δὲ εἰϲ το．[

του ἀλλὰ καὶ τω．[

15 ἦλθον ϲοι εξεπι．[

τῆϲ ἀπὸ ϲοῦ βοη[θείαϲ

καλω κατὰ την．[

αὐθεντίαϲ πεμ[

επικρατειν．[

20 αἱ διατάξειϲ [

Αὐρηλ( ) Ἑρμοκλ．[

δωϲ．[．]．ραμμ[

    [

    [

25   [

Λιϲϲη[νι

περὶ προϲ．．．[

νομον επι．．[

Λιϲϲήνιοϲ Πρ[όκλοϲ

30 ἐχρῆν μεν α．．[

νον τε πολλὰ α[

τῆϲ ἡγεμονίαϲ [

．．．．．．]．．．[

αγαγεῖν ὑπερ[

35 (ἔτουϲ) β″ Ἐπεὶφ [

ἐγράφη δὲ κα[

τοὺϲ ἀφήλικα[ϲ

Λιϲϲήνιοϲ Π[ρόκλοϲ

．．．．．．．[

40 καὶ Κύριλλα[

απει．ων[

την νομη[

    (ἔτουϲ) γ [

i 12 ελατ'τονας   ii 10 παραγ'γειλας

i 7–8 A heading (subject and date of the proclamation), as in ii 26–8 and (in narrative form) ii 36–7. Cf. **3026** introd.

7 παρορισμῶν: note PMilVogl. IV 251. 3–4, which mentions a report of a horiodeictes παρορισμοῦ γινομέν(ου); BGU 616.

9–27 Proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris. The format is the same as in **2664**. 9–10 might be restored accordingly: ἐξ αὐθεντείας Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικο]ῦ καὶ Μαρκίου Σαλου|[ταρίου τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν σεβαστῶν ±14]. This gives an initial lacuna of *c.* 50 letters. I have assumed from the spacing that there was a short line of writing between 9 and 11. But the space is not so marked as to make this certain.

13 πέρα? περᾶ|[ναι?

15]τοις τῆς τοπαρχίας: presumably δεκαπρώ]τοις or τοῖς τῆς τ. [δεκαπρώτοις. The other officials likely to be involved had authority only in their own village (comogrammateus, horiodeictes: for the latter see PCairIsid. 3. 10 note).

21 ff. might be restored on the lines of **3017** 2–3 and 13: εἴ τι[νες . . . ὑπογραφ]ῆς τετυ|[χήκασι; 24 εἰ μ]έντοι τινες . . .

23 E.g. τούτῳ τῷ πρα|[γματικῷ (PLeit. 16. 9 note).

26 ἑκάστοις τα: restore τὰ | [ἴδια? The phrase is used of the rectification of παρορισμοὶ in BGU 616 (verb ἀποκαταστῆσαι) and PRossGeorg. II 21. 17–18 (verb παρα[δοῦναι).

29 E.g. ἵν'] εἰδῶσι τοῖς τε δε|[καπρώτοις. If this is right, the note refers back to the proclamation. 31 may be the heading of a new document: a letter (35) from or to the *iuridicus* (31).

31 Probably δικα]ιοδότου.

33 υ is probable; before it a horizontal, like the cross-bar of ε; after it probably π. Perhaps e.g. δ]ὲ ὑπ[ὸ Τ]αχώνσιος.

36]ωσιος might be possible, but not]ωνσιος; it would be convenient to find a connection with 33, which from its position should belong to a summary of the letter which follows. Alternatively]ωνιος?

37 Probably γρ]άμματα. 'Ηρακλει- may then have been the writer of these 'letters'. If the whole collection of documents belongs to the 240s, only two known high officials come into question: the prefect Aur. Sept. Heraclitus, in office in 215; and the prefect Heraclius, known only from the undated **1313** (third cent.).

38 Apparently not ἐπιστολῆς; perhaps ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς δικαι|[οδοσίας?

39 If this column finished opposite ii 43, there will have been four more lines.

ii 6 At the beginning e.g. οὗτος.

10 παραγγείλας: e.g. **2343** 7, of the prefect's instructions to the petitioner.

21 Is this the subscription of the petition (which one might otherwise have supposed to terminate not long after the βοήθεια-phrase in 16)? -κλη[ς or -κλη[ν suits the trace; not -κλε[.

22 Not εἰ]δότος γράμμ[ατα. Perhaps e.g. ἐπι]δώςῳ γράμμ[ατα.

26–8 Is this the heading of the letter which follows, or a letter itself?

27 Perhaps περὶ προσώπ[ων; or περὶ Προσωπ[ιτ- .

30 α..[: π[or τ.[.

41 E.g. ἀπείρων [, ἀπειλῶν [.

IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3051. Receipt for Arrears of Rent

Plate XI

33 4B.79/E (1–3) a   21 × 20·7 cm.   1 May 89

This receipt was given by the steward of Ti. Claudius Theon, a former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria. Theon had leased out land from the Seneca estate to Petsiris; rent both in cash and in kind was owing; Petsiris' son here settles the debt in a single cash payment. Petsiris also had debts to the steward's own father; a final safeguard (lines 8–11) stipulates that the obligation to settle these is not affected by the present transaction.

It is likely enough that Petsiris had died, leaving his creditors to his son. This copy of the receipt has no subscription, but was certainly folded for preservation.

For similar texts see J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenpacht* 273 f.

The background is illuminated by **2873**, published with commentary by G. M. Browne, *BASP* 5 (1968) 16 ff. The document is a withdrawal from lease, dated A.D. 62; it is submitted by two farmers (sublessees) to Ti. Claudius Theon, μισθωτὴς τῆς Λουκείου Ἀνναίου Cενέκα οὐσίας. If this is the same Theon as in **3051**, he seems to have held the Seneca estate for over twenty-seven years.

The chief interest of the piece is palaeographic. The hand is an elegant and formal one with few ligatures (it degenerates into cursive only in the date, lines 11–12). The sporadic tall ε and the flattened ω look forward to the Severe Style and similar hands of the mid second century; **3051** should figure with PGissUnivBibl. 20 and PBremen 5 (both early in the reign of Hadrian) among the dated forerunners of those hands.

The back is blank.

→   ....]εινος οἰκ[ον]όμος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Θέωνος τῶν

         γεγυμνα]σιαρχηκότων καὶ ἠγορανομηκότων Ἀλεξανδρεί-

         ας .....].ωι Πετcίρεως τοῦ καὶ Λίβωνος τοῦ Πανεχώτου

         ....]. παρὰ [c]οῦ εἰς τὸν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κλαυδίου

5   Θέωνος λό]γον λ[ο]ιπὸν ἐκφορ[ί]ων καὶ ἀργυρικῶν φόρων

         ....].ν ὧν ἐγεώ[ρ]γει ὁ προγεγραμμένος πατὴρ .....

         ...... C]ενεκ[ι]ανῆς [ο]ὐcίας τῶν ἔμπροcθεν χρόνων

         ...... ἀρ]γυρίου δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόcιαι (γίνονται) (δρ.) ψ μένοντος

         μοι τοῦ λ]όγου τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῷ πατρί μου Κλαυδίῳ

10   ....]. ὑπ[ὸ τ]οῦ π[ρ]ογεγ[ρ]αμμένου πατρός cου Πετ-

         cίρεως το]ῦ καὶ Λίβωνος. (ἔτους) η Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος

         Δομι]τιανοῦ Cεβαcτοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ἕκ[τ]ῃι.

8 / ʃ ψ

'[   ]inus, steward of Tiberius Claudius Theon, former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria, to . . . son of Petsiris alias Libo and grandson of Panechotes, greetings. I have received from you, for the account of the above-mentioned Claudius Theon, arrears of rent in kind and rent in money for . . . arouras which your above-mentioned father farmed in former times, being part of the Seneca estate . . . seven hundred drachmas of silver, making 700 dr., without prejudice to my rights in respect of the debt owing to my father Claudius [ ] from your above-mentioned father Petsiris alias Libo. Year 8 of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, month Germaniceus sixth.'

1 A Ti. Claudius Theon was one of the landowners involved in constructing a dike at Tychinnecotis in A.D. 83/4 (**290** 29); property πρότερον Κλαυδίου Θέωνος is mentioned in A.D. 101 (**510** 15 f.). Either or both might be identical with the Theon of **2873** and **3051**.

2 γεγυμνα]ϲιαρχηκότων: add Ti. Claudius Theon to Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches* 44.

4 . . . . . .]. : the expected formula is χα(ίρειν)· ἀπέχ]ω (χαίρειν without abbreviation exceeds the space).

6 ὧν: the relative need have no noun attached, see PHamb. 8. 6. But ἀρουρ]ῶν would fit conveniently before it.

    . . . . : the letters are much damaged. We expect πατήρ ϲου; there is enough ink for πατήρ ϲου Πετ][ϲῖριϲ (Youtie). But the first trace is rather straight for ϲ. Possibly μου was written by mistake.

8 δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόϲιαι: if the supplement ἀπέχ]ω (4) is right, we expect an accusative. The nominative may be a mistake; or the beginning of the line might be restored ὅ ἐϲτιν ἀρ]γυρίου.

9 τῷ πατρί μου: the steward has received one payment on behalf of his master; he wishes to make it clear that this in no way affects his own rights as representative (or heir) of his father. The father was a Roman citizen; the son must similarly have borne the *nomen* Claudius (either abbreviated or omitted in line 1, to judge from the space).

3052. ITINERARY

5 1B.42/G (c)   17 × 17·5 cm.   First century

    The papyrus is broken at the top; but the content suggests that little, if anything, preceded line 1. The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank. The hand, which is virtually without ligatures, belongs to the earlier first century; dated parallels are listed in the introduction to **2435**.

    The text is the itinerary of a journey from Nicopolis to (perhaps) Oxyrhynchus. The travellers enter Egypt, line 2 (that is, they leave Alexandria); and reach Nicopolis on Mecheir 17. Subsequent stages have numbers, from 1 to 9 or 10. These numerals might represent days of the month; but in that case nearly two weeks passed at Nicopolis. It seems more likely that the numbers simply index the successive days of the journey.

    The towns named, so far as they are legible and identifiable, suggest a journey by water: from *Nicopolis* by canal to Schedia, and then south on the Canopic branch past *Hermoupolis* Minor (cf. Strabo 17. 1. 16 and 22); south again on the main stream past *Babylon* and *Memphis* to *Aphrodito*; west along the Fayyūm canal, past *Venne*, to join the Baḥr Yūsuf at *Ptolemais* Hormu; along the Baḥr Yūsuf past *Caene* (?) and *Tacona* (?) to Oxyrhynchus.

This explains why the stages include both Memphis, on the west bank, and Babylon and Aphrodito, on the east bank. The land routes naturally stay on one bank: *Itinerarium Antonini* (155. 1 ff.) Chereu, Hermoupoli, Andro, Niciu, Letus, Memphis, Peme, Isiu, Caene, Tacona, Ossirincho; *Tabula Peutingeriana* (see K. Miller, *Itin. Rom.* 852 ff.) Alexandria, Melcati, Naucrati, Niciu, Auleu, Memphis, Venne, Sinottū, Ptolemaidonar, Heracleo, etc. The land route would be quicker: the *Itin. Antonini* reckons five days from Chereu to Memphis, our travellers took nine days from Nicopolis. Of course they were going against the current; and took time off for a bath on at least five days.[1]

The coincidences between this itinerary (a purely private document) and the literary ones are interesting. *Venne* is known only from the papyrus and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

. . . . .

→   α . . . . . . [
    εἰς Αἴγυπτο[ν . . . . Με]χεὶρ ιζ εἰς Νει-
    κόπολιν ᾱ εἰς [. . . . . . β̄ εἰ]ϲ Ἑρμοῦ πόλειν γ̄
    εἰς . . . ειαμ . . [. . . . . .] . . ἐλουϲάμεθα [δ̄
5   εἰς . ετ . η ε̄ εἰς . [. . . . ἐλο]υϲάμεθα καὶ ἐμί-
    ναμεν . αλλα'ν'τε . [. . . . . . .]θιου ἐλουϲάμεθα [
    ει . . . ω ζ̄ εἰς Πε . [. . . . . .]μεθα α . την η̄ παρε[μ-
    βολὴ Ἀγαθοκλέο[υϲ ἐ]λουϲάμεθα θ̄ Βαβυλὼν
    παρεμ]βολὴ 'εἶτα' Μένφειϲ . εἶτα εἰς φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ
10   . . . .] . [.] . εἶτα Οὐεννὲ εἶτα Πτολεμαεὶς εἶτα [[λευκογε]] Κεν . .
    . . . .] . εἶτα . . α . . . [ ]

1 Perhaps αγλ or αγα. The papyrus breaks off just above this line, which may or may not have been the beginning of the text.

3 εἰς [. . . . . . : perhaps [Χαιρέου, which precedes Hermoupolis in the *Itin. Antonini*. **1749** assesses costs of water-transport from this town to Niciu, Heracleopolis, and Cynopolis.

4 . . . ειαμ . . [: before ε perhaps η or ν; after μ perhaps η, then the left side of γ or π.] . . : perhaps] . [.]ω.

5 εἰς . ετ . η: apparently Νετλ[[ε]]η (though the first letter might possibly be *kappa*). Not known to *WB* III or *WBSuppl*. εἰς . [: a curving tail, as of ρ or υ.

5–7 We have to restore ϛ̄ somewhere in line 6. (*a*) 6–7 ἐλουϲάμεθα [ϛ] | εἰς . . . ω looks satisfactory; if so, the travellers bathed twice on the fifth day. (*b*) 6 e.g. [ϛ εἰς . . .]θιον; in that case the travellers proceeded εἰς . . . ω after their bath (or ει . . . ω must be restored differently).

6 . αλλαντε . [: the first letter looks like a τ closely followed by remains of another upright: probably π, in the form characteristic of this hand. At the end, a low curve as of ϲ. I can make nothing of παλλαντεϲ[; and Παλλαντεο[is not promising as a proper name.

1 Dr. Rea compares the extract from Alexander's Journals, Arrian *Anab.* 7. 25 f. (*FGrH* 117 F 3): ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουϲάμενον . . . ἀπαλλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούϲαϲθαι κτλ.

]θιου: of θ parts of the loop and a trace of cross-bar to the left (θ rather than β ε φ; not Νι]κίου).

7 εἰς Πε.[: if what follows is ἐλουσά]μεθα, the place-name can have only three or four letters. Περ[would be a good reading (remains of the loop and of the shaft of ρ).

α.την: foot of upright, and left-hand arc, as for αιςτην. Seemingly not δὶς (which in any case leaves την without function).

7–8 παρε[μ]βολῇ Ἀγαθοκλέο[υς: I have not found this place-name attested. As a speculation, I note that Agathocles son of Oenanthe, as 'guardian' of Ptolemy V, sent Scopas to recruit new mercenaries with the intention τοὺς ἀρχαίους καὶ προϋπάρχοντας ξένους ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια καὶ τὰς κατοικίας ἀποστεῖλαι (Pol. 15. 25. 17). The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* registers no high-ranking soldiers called Agathocles.

9 Μένφεις: the trace which follows is of an upright. Perhaps the numeral ι (the stroke above it lost); but εἶτα is then superfluous.

φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ: φύλακας rather than φυλακάς. This entry supports the restoration ἐν Ἀφρο-δί]της πόλει at PHib. 198. 126–7, in a list of φυλακαί. The guards must have manned a customs post: compare the Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακή (PHib. 198. 130), which Strabo 17. 1. 41 describes as τελώνιόν τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων.

The ship-canal for the Arsinoite leaves the Nile opposite Aphrodito; the travellers must have turned along it, to reach Ptolemais Hormu (10). On the canal see Wiken, *Corolla Archeologica* (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 2, 1932) 272 f.; he remarks that Strabo too seems to have used it, since his description proceeds from Aphroditopolis to the Arsinoite and then to the Heracleopolite.

10 Οὐεννέ must be the *Venne* mentioned by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* after Memphis and before *Ptolemaidonar* (i.e. Ptolemais Hormu?) and *Heracleo*.

Πτολεμαείς: sc. Ὅρμου. See PPetaus pp. 22 ff.

[[λευκογε]]: the scribe began to write Λευκογεῖον, the southern river-port of the Fayyūm. The suprascript might be read κενη i.e. Καινή: a suitable town, being on the Baḥr Yūsuf. This depends partly on what terminus is reached in the next line.

11 ..α...[ ]: difficult. I had tried Ἡρακλέ[ους: against this (a) ε[looks much more like ο[, and there is no room for λ before it; (b) if Κενή is right in 10, Heracleopolis is well behind us. A better guess would be Τακό[να, which the *Itin. Anton.* gives as the last stage on the road before Oxyrhynchus. Against this: there is more space and ink than the initial τ can explain.

3053. REGISTRATION OF SALE OF SLAVE

34 4B.77/L (1–3) a   9·8 × 16·3 cm.   28 October/26 November 252

This document exactly parallels **73** (A.D. 94) and **3054** (A.D. 265). It states that the owner of a slave has registered him (ἀπεγράψατο), declaring his ownership by a document submitted (ὑπόμνημα) and an oath in writing (χειρογραφία); details are given about the slave and about the circumstances of the purchase. The registration is made through the agoranomi or their substitutes.

73 has been discussed by Mitteis, *Gz.* 184; Woess, *Untersuch. ü. d. Urkundenwesen* 170 ff.; Seidl, *Der Eid* i 90 f.; Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale* 234 f.

263 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 77) and SB 7533 ('Upper Egypt', A.D. 160/1) illustrate the previous submission and oath referred to (lines 10–11). In these documents the seller of a slave addresses the agoranomi; he swears that he has sold the slave, that the slave was his property, and that he has received the price—in effect, then, affirms on oath the contents of the deed of sale (which in SB 7533 follows on the same sheet). The same procedure, but for a sale of land, appears in **100** of A.D. 133 (revised text and bibliography in *CPJ* iii 454).

This is the oath of the seller. The χειρογραφία of the purchaser (**3053** 11 etc.) will have been similar. The ὑπόμνημα of the purchaser remains obscure; if it was simply an ἀπογραφή (registering the acquisition of the slave), the ἀπεγράψατο documents must represent yet another stage—written confirmation that the ἀπογραφή-procedure has been gone through.

All these documents do or may come from Oxyrhynchus. The new pieces **3053** and **3054** show that this first-century form continued in use in the later third century: concurrently, that is, with the complexities of anacrisis (see Wolff, *ZSS* 83 (1966) 340; van der Wal, *Rev. de l'hist. du droit* 35 (1967) 595).

The sale took place at Aurelia Tripolis (13): the title is new and interesting. The back is blank.

→   ἔτου[c γ Αὐ]τοκρατόρων Καιcάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου

     Τρεβ[ω]ριανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἀφινίου

     Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Οὐολουcιανοῦ Εὐcεβῶν

     Εὐτυχῶν Cεβα[cτῶ]ν μηνὸc Νέου Cεβαcτοῦ (vac.)

5   Ἀθὺρ (vac.) ἐν Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(ει) διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ καὶ

     Διονυcίου ἀcχολ[ου]μ(ένου) ὠνὴ(ν) ἀγορανομ(είου).

     ἀπεγράψατο τῇ ἐνεcτώcῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μάρκοc Αὐρήλιοc

     Μαρκιαν[ὸ]c ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆc Ἰcιδώρου τοῦ Δημητρίου

     Εὐθηνοδότε[ιο]c ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεὺc ὡc (ἐτῶν) λζ ἄcημ(οc) ἐν ἀγυιᾷ

10   ὃν ἐδήλου δι' οὗ ἐπέδωκεν ὑπομνήματοc καὶ ἧc

     πεποίηται χειρογραφίαc ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ ἀγοραcθεῖ-

     cαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικὸν γενόμενον

     ἐν Αὐρηλίᾳ Τριπόλει τῆc Φοινίκηc τῷ διελθόντι

     β (ἔτει) παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Δε.των.. Cιλβανοῦ Ὀcρο-

15   ηνοῦ δούλην ὀνόματι Βαλcαμέαν γένει Ὀcροηνὴν

     Μεcοποταμηνὴν ὡc (ἐτῶν) ιζ οὐλ(αὶ) χείλει τῷ ἄνω ἐξ ἀρι-

     cτερ(ῶν) καὶ γόνατι δεξ(ιῷ) ἀπὸ καταπλοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διελ-

     θ[ό]ντοc β (ἔτουc) Ἐπεὶφ κϛ ἐν πλοίῳ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

     Διοcκόρου ἄκατοc Οὐρανία ἐν ἀγυιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ.

20   (m.²) Αὐρήλιοc Μαρκιανὸc ἀπεγραψάμην

     ὡc πρόκιται.

     5 οξ⁻ πο̄ αυρῆ   6 αcχολ[ου]ᵘ ωνη αγορανοᵘ   8 ηρακληc corr. from -κλειοc? ϊcιδωρου
10 ϋπο-   11 ϋπ-   12 ϋπ   15 οcρο-: c corrected   16 ουλ   16–17 αριcτερ' δεξ'
19 αγυϊα

'Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, in the month Neos Sebastos . . ., Hathyr . . ., in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Antipater alias Dionysius who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion.

Marcus Aurelius Marcianus alias Heracles, son of Isidorus and grandson of Demetrius, of the Euthenodotean tribe and the Althaean deme, aged about 37, no distinguishing marks, registered this present day, in the street, the slave whom he declared in the memorandum he submitted and the written oath he made to belong to him, purchased by him under a Greek contract made in Aurelia Tripolis in Phoenicia in the past 2nd year from Marcus Aurelius . . . Silvanus, an Osrhoenian— the female slave by name Balsamea, by race Osrhoenian Mesopotamian, age about 17, scars on the upper lip to the left and on the right knee, imported by sea, in the said past 2nd year, Epeiph 26, in a boat belonging to Marcus Aurelius Dioscorus, (type?) *akatos*, (figurehead?) Urania, in the said street.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Marcianus, have registered (the slave) as above.'

5 f. The slave-sale **1209** (dated to an uncertain year of Gallus) is transacted before the same Antipater; there, as here and in **73** and **3054**, the month has a double name, and the writer leaves a blank for the numeral after each element.

6 ἀϲχολ[ου]μ(ένου): see **1208** 2 note; add **1709** (A.D. 224), **1562** (276/82), **3054** (265), PStrass. 264 (277/82), SB 8971 (late 3rd century). The documents show that the agoranomeion was regularly farmed, as early as 224 and as late as 291, to administrators with this title.

9 Εὐθηνοδότε[ιο]ϲ: this must be the correct form, parallel to Ἀγαθοδότειοϲ. **1707** 4 prints Εὐθηνοδίου, which must be a mistake; PSI 464. 4 has only ευθ.ν[.

10 ὄν: the writer forgot to adapt his formula to the feminine.

12 δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικόν: **3054** 9 f., PRossGeorg. III 27 (Alex. Severus), PVindBosw. 7. 17 (A.D. 225); δίπλωμα alone BGU 913. 3 (A.D. 206). Of the slave-sales referred to in these five documents, four certainly took place outside Egypt; this fact suggests that PVindBosw. 7. 17 ἐν τοῖϲ ἔξω τόποιϲ should be interpreted in the same sense. Indeed, we should not expect sales in diploma form in Egypt; whereas they are the norm e.g. in Dura Europos.

On diplomata see J. F. Gilliam, *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967) 233 f., *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 65 ff. BGU 913, a slave-sale from Myra in Lycia, describes itself as a diploma, though no trace of a second text remains.

13 Αὐρηλίᾳ Τριπόλει: the famous Tripoli in Phoenicia, but I find no other evidence for the title *Aurelia*. The British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Phoenicia* (1910), records ample third-century issues up to and including Elagabalus; no title appears beyond ναυαρχίϲ (under Elagabalus: pp. 222 ff.), which was already attested under Hadrian by OGI 587. If then an emperor conferred the *Aurelia* after the reign of Elagabalus and before the date of our document, it must have been Alexander Severus. This may be confirmed by a coin in the British Museum (*Cat.* p. 226 no. 139), with the unique inscription *TPIПO(   ) METR*(opolis) *POENI*(ciae); the image is obscured by double striking and corrosion, but doubtfully identified as Alexander Severus.[1]

For the process we may compare the elevation of Sidon to colonial status by Elagabalus: its new title is *Colonia Aurelia Pia Metropolis Sidon*. Alexander Severus showed himself active in the province, perhaps because he passed through on the way to the Parthian front; he certainly restored the title *Metropolis* to Tyre, and conferred it on Caesarea Maritima (see Kadman, *Corp. Numm. Pal.* II p. 24, IV p. 24). Tripoli perhaps benefited from the same occasion.

14 Δε.των.ʹ: apparently Δεγʹτ- or Δετʹτ-; at the end -νοϲ or possibly -νη. E.g. Δέττωνοϲ, with Ϲιλβανοῦ as patronymic. But neither Δέττων nor Δέγτων is attested.

15 Βαλϲαμέαν: the masculine Βαλϲαμῆϲ is quoted from Lidzbarski, *Eph. f. sem. Epigr.* 1 p. 260.

16 Μεϲοποταμηνήν: elsewhere the adjective seems to be Μεϲοποταμίτηϲ or Μεϲοποτάμιοϲ.

[1] Mr. Martin Price has been kind enough to inspect the coin, which is still unique in the British Museum collection. He confirms the reading of the legend; and adds (*a*) that]CAES[EV]ALEX[is a possible reading of the obverse; (*b*) that neither the profile nor the general style of the coin really compares with at least the commoner types of Caracalla and Elagabalus.

17 ἀπὸ καταπλοῦ: see Wegener, *JJP* 9–10 (1955–6) 102.

19 ἄκατος Οὐρανία: the letters are certain, except for ϲ (but if it is υ, the final stroke is much less extended than one would expect). It would be natural to take Οὐρανία as the ensign of the boat, as e.g. Thalia in PTebt. 486. But this is not a meaning which ἄκατος ever has (παράϲημον, ἐπίϲημον). Are the two nominatives a shorthand description of the boat by type and by ensign?

3054. REGISTRATION OF SALE OF SLAVE

19 2B.74/B (a)   11·5 × 16·3 cm.   26 May/ 24 June 265?

A registration of the same form as **3053**. The back was reused for a private letter from Apollonius to Sarapammon (printed below as **3066**); the address of the letter appears in the left margin of the registration.

The registrant comes from Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia. The sale had taken place in Bostra; and details are given of three successive previous owners; to the earliest of these the slave had belonged by birth. We learn incidentally some new facts about the constitution of Bostra and the nomenclature of its citizens; Septimius Severus (24) is particularly tantalizing. Unfortunately the papyrus is badly damaged, so that the reading is often in doubt. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Rea and Dr. John Shelton for their help.

→   ἔτους ιβ′ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίϲαρος Ποuπλίου Λικιννίου ⟨Γαλλιηνοῦ⟩
       Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίϲτου Εὐϲεβοῦϲ Εὐτυχοῦϲ Ϲεβαϲτοῦ
       Λώου (vac.) Παῦνι (vac.) ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει διὰ Αὐρη-
       λίου Ϲερηνοθέωνος ἀϲχολουμένου ὠνὴν ἀγορ(ανομείου).
5   ἀπεγράψατο τῇ ἐνεϲτώϲῃ ἡμέρᾳ Αὐρηλία ....τις
       Ϲίμωνος ἀπὸ Βόϲτραϲ τῆϲ Ϲυρίαϲ φυλῆϲ Αν.[..
       ὡϲ (ἐτῶν?) ..[..].[...].[... ὃν ἐδήλο]υ δι' οὗ ἐπέδωκ[εν ὑ-
       πομνήμ[ατο]ϲ καὶ ἧ[ϲ πεποί]ηται χειρογραφίαϲ ὑπάρ-
       χειν αὐτῷ ἀ[γ]οραϲθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δίπλωμα
10   Ἑλληνικὸν γεγόμενον ἐν Βόϲτρᾳ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων
       Ἀλβείνου τὸ [β]′ καὶ Δέκϲτρο[υ] εἰδ[ο]ῖϲ Φεβραρίαιϲ πα-
       ρὰ Αὐρηλίου .εργια Ἰουλιαν[ο]ῦ Μαξίμου βουλευτοῦ
       ....ιου φυλῆϲ Ρωμ...αϲ δοῦλον ὀνό-
       ματι Προκόπτοντα υϲτερ.......ϲθεντα
15   Ἄπτον ὡϲ (ἐτῶν) .β λευκόχρουν ὑποπλατυπρόϲω-
       πον ἀρεόφρυν κονδόρεινα οὐλαὶ μετώπῳ
       καὶ ὀφρύει καὶ ϲιαγόνει εὐωνύμοιϲ παράϲτραβο(ν)
       ὠνηθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ κατ' ὠνὴν

τελειωθεῖcαν διὰ δημοϲίου ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει

20   τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δίῳ παρὰ . . . . . ιδδαθ.

μολ.ανου βουλευτοῦ δι . . . . οϲ γενομέ[ν]ου

ἐν φυλῇ Διόϲ, καὶ αυ . . . . . . αμεν . [.] κατ’

ὠνὴν δι . . . . η πόλει δημ[ο]ϲίω(ν)

παρὰ] Cεπτιμίαϲ Ε . . . ναϲ Cεπτιμίου Cεουήρου

25   . . . .] . . . . τα αυ . . . . ργενη εκ . . ρι

. . . .] . ληϲ νομ[. .] . ομ . . . . α . . α . [. . .] . . .

.   .   .   .   .

4 αγορϟ   15 l. λευκόχρων   16 l. ἀραιόφρυν   17 -ϲτραβō   18 κατ’   20 ιδ’δαθ.
22 κατ’   23 δημοϲιω̄

'Year 12 of Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Lous , Payni , in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Serenotheon who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion. Aurelia . . ., daughter of Simon, from Bostra in Syria, of the tribe . . ., . . ., registered on the present day the slave whom she declared in the memorandum she submitted and the written oath she made to belong to him (?), purchased by him (?) under a Greek contract made at Bostra on the Ides of February in the consulship of Albinus for the second time and Dexter from Aurelius Julianus Maximus, *tribu Sergia* (?), . . . senator . . . of the tribe *Romana*(?) —the slave Prokopton by name, afterwards renamed (?) Aptus, aged about . . ., white skin, slightly flat faced, scanty eyebrows, short nose, scars on the left forehead and eyebrow and jawbone, slight squint—bought by Julianus himself under a sale transacted through the public record office in the said city in the said year in the month Dius (from?) . . . Molianus, senator for ever (?) (and?) formerly in the tribe of Zeus, who had himself bought (him) under a sale (transacted) though the public records (?) in the said city from Septimia . . . daughter of Septimius Severus . . . belonging to her as born in her house, the child of . . . (?)'

1 ἔτουϲ ιβ : the top and foot of a long vertical, which I take to be ι; then the straight right side of a letter, suitable for β or η. We have a *terminus post* in line 11 : 13 February A.D. 263. Only one suitable year offers before Constantine, i.e. 12 Gallienus = 264/5. The difficulty lies in the reading of the name. Πουπλίου is very satisfactory; so is ιγγιου. But Λικ is dubious, with unexplained ink below the putative ι. And the space certainly excludes Γαλλιηνοῦ.

3 After each month name, a blank space for the numeral.

5 Αὐρηλία . . . .τιϲ : -ία seems clear. But nothing is said of a guardian, whether acting or dispensed with; and the pronouns are masculine in 9. The second name begins with κ or υ.

6 φυλῆϲ Αυ.[: for the genitive cf. 13. Tribal organization at Bostra was already attested by IGR III 1276 ἐπιϲκοπούϲηϲ φυλῆϲ Ϲομαιθηνῶν and 1277 ἐπιϲκοπούντων βουλευτῶν φυλῆϲ Βιταιηνῶν.

Αυ.[: the trace looks most like a high arc (left side of ο or top half of ε, for example); but it's very uncertain. It is not clear what sort of name to expect: the inscriptional tribes are named from clans or families (A. H. M. Jones, *CERP* 293); but 3054 has φυλὴ ʽΡωμ . .α in 13 and φυλὴ Διόϲ in 22. (Exactly these three types in Asia Minor: Levick, *Anat. Stud.* 15 (1965) 56 n. 42.) The word may continue into the next line.

7 The parallels (73 12, 3053 9) give the age and description of the registrant, then ἐν ἀγυιᾷ. The reconstruction depends on the trace after ωϲ. I have taken it as a year sign, though it is not so extended as in 15. But only the flat base is at all clear. Otherwise -ωϲ might belong to line 6.

11 13 February A.D. 263.

12 .εργια : there are two traces : a high point on the edge of the break, and a horizontal joining ε at its mid point. (*a*) The seller is called simply Julianus in 18. Even so .εργια(ϲ) might be part of his

full name. But I have found no suitable name attested. (*b*) ζεργία might be this citizen's Roman tribe. We have to take the high trace as the end of the *v* preceding, which has then to be unusually wide; or else as the bottom angle of [β]' above. This seems to be the better solution.

13 φυλῆς is the firm point. What follows is its name. I am inclined to read 'Ρωμαίας: cf. a local *Tribus Romana* at Pisidian Antioch, *Anat. Studies* 15 (1965) 54. Dr. Shelton suggests instead 'Ρωμιλίας (the Roman tribe *Romilia*); this may be right; but the difficult trace looks more like the loop of α than the angle of λ.

At the beginning γεν is suggested: some form of γενόμενος?

14 Προκόπτοντα: I have not found the name attested, but it's clearly suitable to be translated *Aptus* (15). The rest of the line will mean 'afterwards renamed'. ὕστερον might be possible, but not ὕστερον δέ. ἐπικληθέντα and μετονομασθέντα will not fit.

15 ὡς (ἐτῶν) .β: of β only the upper loop. The horizontal before it looks most like part of the year-sign. But 2 years is not a plausible age for a slave so often sold. Just possibly μβ.

16 ἀρεόφρυν: new. Cf. Moeris p. 214. 9 Bekker: ψεδνὸς Ἀττικοί, ἀραιόθριξ Ἕλληνες.

κονδόρεινα: new, but cf. κοντό⟨ρ⟩ρινος quoted by LSJ Suppl. from *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 7. 202. 7. This is notable. κοντός/κονδός, well established in Modern Greek, does not appear at all in the papyrus documents. For its history see Hatzidakis, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 35 ff.

20 ff. I assume that two further owners are mentioned: hence παρά (doubtfully read) in 20 and again (restored) in 24. In 22 we might read accordingly καὶ αὐτοῦ ὠνησαμένο[υ].

20–1 The traces at the end of 20 are too slight to show whether the name spilled over into 21. Μολλ[ι]ανοῦ is a barely possible reading.

21 δι....ος: Perhaps διὰ αἰ[ῶ]ρος (αἰ[at least is very plausible). It is the more difficult because the formula of tribe here used differs from those in 12 f. and 6 f. γενομένου should look forward. But how had he ceased to belong to the Tribe of Zeus? and why ἐν rather than the genitive?

23 As sense, διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει would be attractive, though the space is short for αὐτῇ.

24 Cεπτιμίου Cεουήρου: nothing that is known of the emperor's relations suggests that one of them operated at Bostra: see A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus* 293 ff.

25 Possibly ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ οἰκογενῆ. But the η of αὐτῇ is difficult. ἐκ may introduce the name of the slave's mother (or parents).

26 I make nothing of this, though the traces are substantial enough to check a guess.

3055–3056. ORDERS TO SUPPLY

These two pieces come from the same layer of papyri, and no doubt were found together. Both are addressed to an Ammonius, and dated in Phamenoth of a first year; both order Ammonius to supply eggs.

Chits of this kind are common: see **1568** and **2139**, and the poulterer's archive (fifty-two ostraca) published by Boyaval in *BIFAO* 63 (1965) 50 ff. and reprinted as SB 10270.

The interest of **3055** lies in its date: Ḻ αʹ Διοκλῆτος, Φαμενὼτ ια. This is evidence for Diocletian's name; and for the date at which he was recognized in Egypt.

Literary sources say that the emperor was called Diocles before his accession: *Epit. de Caes.* 39. 1, Lactantius, *de M. P.* 9. 11 and 19. 5. Lactantius uses the name from time to time in his narrative of the reign (ib. 29. 2, 37. 3, 52. 3); Libanius also uses it, no doubt with deliberate contempt, in recalling Diocletian's injustice to his own ancestors (*Or.* 19. 45 f.). But no document, so far as I know, has any form but Διοκλητιανός.

Diocletian dated his accession from 20 November 284 (PBeattyPanop. 2. 162–4). But Egyptian datings from his first year are very rare. Vandersleyen (*Chronologie des préfets de l'Égypte* 33 ff.) concluded that Diocletian may not have been recognized in Egypt until late in his first year—perhaps not until the middle of 285, when news arrived of the battle of Margus and the murder of Carinus. The texts so far available might have justified the conclusion. The last Egyptian date of Carinus is of Mesore, year 2 = August 284 (SB 6597); a year 3 (beginning 29 August 284) is mentioned in **2338** 52. Diocletian's year 1 appears at **2338** 49 and **2872** 6; but the first precise[1] date is Tybi 4, year 2 = 30 December 285 (SB 7443). Only one document offers an earlier fixed point: PMichaelidae 21. 12–14, dated Mecheir 16, year 1 = 10 February 285. But the printed text presents oddities which led Vandersleyen to discount this evidence.

3055 now settles the point. Diocletian had been recognized in Egypt by 7 March 285 (we can hardly suppose that such a trivial document would have been back-dated). Whatever the run of events, then, the battle of Margus was not the decisive moment.

Another, but insoluble, problem arises. Should we deduce from **3055** that Diocles was the emperor's official name even at this date? If PMichael. 21 is correctly read and dated, the supposition is untenable: Διοκλητιανός is already part of the titulature nearly a month earlier than our document. If not, it is open to guess that the emperor adopted the more sonorous name at some time after his accession, perhaps with the defeat of Carinus. This at least can be said: the use of Διοκλῆς here might well be an individual ineptness rather than official practice; but the new emperor's name had certainly reached Melas or his clerk in Oxyrhynchus in the form which we have known so far only from hostile literary sources.

3055

→   π(αρὰ) Μέλανος γραμμ[ατέ]ως
       Ἀμμωνίῳ ὀρνιθᾷ χαίρειν.
       δὸς Ἄμμωνι φύλακει
       ὥστε εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν
5   τῆ[ς] οἰκίας ᾠὰ δέκ[α
          γί(νονται) ᾠὰ ι.

       (ἔτους) α Διοκλῆτος
       Φαμενὼτ ια.

[1] OMich. 408 concerns produce of the first year of Diocletian, but carries no date. **2228** 41 refers to a second year; it might be that of Diocletian (3 September 285), but see *BASP* 6 (1969) 36 f.

1 π′   4 ὑπ-   6 ⊢   *Back*: three smudged lines across the fibres

'From Melas the secretary to Ammonius the chicken-man, greetings. Give Ammon the guard, for domestic supplies, ten eggs, that makes 10 eggs. Year 1 of Diocles, Phamenoth 11.'

3056

22 3B.15/G (4–7) c   10·7 × 7·5 cm.   284/5

↓   π(αρὰ) Ἄμμωνος Ἀμμωνίῳ χ[αίρειν.
       δὸς εἰς ὑπηρεcίαν τοῦ π[
       ὀρνίθιον ἓν καὶ ᾠὰ δέκα γ(ίνονται) .[
       (ἔτους) α Φαμε[νὼ]θ [

1 π′   3 /   *Back*: blank

'From Ammon to Ammonius, greetings. Give, as supplies for ..., one chicken and ten eggs, that makes ... Year 1, Phamenoth ...'

3 .[: the tall straight trace suggests γ(ίνονται) ι [rather than ὀ[ρνίθιον.
4 (ἔτους) α: of Diocletian, given the close connection with **3055**.

V. PRIVATE LETTERS

3057. Letter of Ammonius

This letter is written on a substantial sheet cut from a roll (a heavy *kollesis* can be seen to the right). A single hand, neat and semi-literary, wrote both text and greeting; characteristic letters are α, sometimes angular and sometimes rounded, μ in three movements, π with a strongly curved right side, υ as a wide 'v'. This sort of script should belong to the late first or earlier second century: Schubart *Pal.* Abb. 79, which is similar though more carelessly written, dates to A.D. 94.

The writer encourages his brethren to amity, alludes to external enemies, looks forward with ragged nerves to future ordeals: many hints, small information. If the hand is rightly dated, it would be temerarious to look for a Christian context (15 ff. n.).

→   Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι
          ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.
        ἐκομισάμην τὴν κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολὴν
        καὶ τὴν ἱματοφορίδα καὶ τοὺς φαινόλας καὶ τὰς
5   σύνριγγας οὐ καλάς, τοὺς δὲ φαινόλας οὐχ ὡς
        παλαιοὺς ἔλαβον ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζόν ἐστιν και-
        νῶν διὰ προαίρεσιν· οὐ θέλω δέ σε, ἄδελφε, βα-
        ρύνειν με ταῖς συνεχές{εσ}ι φιλανθρωπίαις,
        `...´ οὐ δυνάμενον ἀμείψασθαι, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον
10   ἡμεῖς προαίρεσιν φιλικῆς διαθέσεως νομί-
        ζομεν παρεστακέναι σοι. παρακαλῶ
        δέ σε, ἄδελφε, μηκέτι λόγον ποιεῖσθαι πε-
        ρὶ τῆς κλειδὸς τῆς μονοχώρου. οὐ γὰρ θέ-
        λω ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἕνεκα ἐμοῦ ἢ ἄλ-
15   λου διαφοράν τινα ἔχειν· ὁμόνοιαν γὰρ καὶ
        φιλαλλη⟨λ⟩ίαν εὔχομαι ἐν ὑμεῖν διαμένειν
        ἵν' ἦτε ἀκαταλήρητοι καὶ μὴ 〚ἦτε〛 ὁμοῖοι
        ἡμεῖν. ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα ἐπάγεταί με προτρέψασ-
        θαι ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεύειν καὶ μὴ διδόναι ἀφορ-
20   μὰς ἑτέροις καθ' ὑμῶν· πείρασαι οὖν καὶ δι'
        ἐμὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, χαρισάμενός μοι ὃ με-

τρξὺ ἐπιγνώςῃ ἀγαθόν. τὰ ἔρια ἂν ἦς εἰλη-
φὼς παρὰ Cαλβίου πλήρη καὶ ᾖ coι ἀρες-
τά, ἀντίγραψόν μοι· γελοῖα δέ coι γέγραφα
25   διὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, ἃ παραδέξῃ·
ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀνειμένη γείνεται, ὅταν τὸ
còν ὄνομα παρῇ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἔθος ἐχού-
cης ἠρεμεῖν διὰ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα· ἀλ⟨λ⟩’ ὑπο-
φέρει Λεωνᾶc· ἀcπάζομαί ce, δέcποτα, καὶ τοὺς
30   c[ο]ὺς πάντας· ἔρρωcο, τ̣ε̣ιμιώτατε.

(*Back* ↦) Ἀπολλωνίωι Ἀπολλω( ) ἐπιcκέπ(τῃ) ἀδε(λφῷ).

11 -ζομεν corr. from -ζωμεν   17 ⟦ἦτε⟧: ἠτ̇ε pap.   27 ὄνομα : corr. from ωνομα   30 τει-
μιώτατε: τει corrected   31 απολλ^ω   επιcκε⏋   αδε

'Ammonius to Apollonius his brother, greetings. I received the crossed letter and the portmanteau
and the cloaks and the reeds, not good ones—the cloaks I received not as old ones, but as better than
new if that's possible, because of the spirit (in which they were given). But I don't want you, brother,
to load me with these continual kindnesses, since I can't repay them—the only thing we suppose
ourselves to have offered you is (our) feelings of friendship. Please, brother, don't concern yourself
further with the key of the single room: I don't want you, my brothers, to quarrel for my sake or for
anyone else's; indeed I pray for concord and mutual affection to maintain itself in you, so that you can
be beyond the reach of gossip and not be like us: experience leads me to urge you to live at peace and
not to give others a handle against you. So try and do this for my sake too—a favour to me, which
in the interim you'll come to recognize as advantageous (to you as well). If you've received the wool
from Salvius to the full amount, and if it's satisfactory, write back to me. I wrote you silly things in
my previous letter, which you'll discount: the fact is my spirit relaxes when your name is there—and
this though it has no habit of tranquillity, because of its pressing troubles. Well, Leonas bears up (?).
My best wishes to you, master, and all your people. Good health, most honoured friend.
    (Address) To Apollonius . . ., surveyor, his brother.'

2 χ̄αίρειν: a horizontal bar is written above χ. Did the writer intend χ(αίρειν), and then decide
to complete the word? 15 ff. n.
    3 κεχιαcμένην: the word is usually applied to contracts crossed out εἰς ἀκύρωcιν (PYale 63. 11 n.).
Alternatively it might mean 'marked with an X' (LSJ s.v. II i; Eusebius, *VC* 1. 31 χιαζομένου τοῦ
ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεcαίτατον). I don't see why the letter should have been crossed out; or why ἐπιcτολή is
used, if the document concerned was a contract. Some letters have *X* midway in the address, to mark
a place for the fastening; but the usage should be too common for comment. Some documents use
X's to fill a blank line-end, as a precaution against unauthorized additions (**2576** 4–5 n.); but it is an
odd precaution for a private letter. For a more dubious explanation, see 15 ff. n.
    4–5 τὰς cύριγγας οὐ καλάc: cύριγγαc for cύ{ρ}ριγγαc, by analogy with compounds in cυν-ρ-?
Perhaps they are reels of thread, see **2593** 6 n. οὐ καλάc hardly suits so tactful a letter; the writer
probably intended cύριγγά⟨c⟩ cου.
    9 '. . .': the last trace stands above *hypsilon* of οὐ; the first, in the left margin, descends halfway
to line level. Neither ἅτε (Rea) nor μή is a quite satisfactory reading.
    13 μονοχώρου: two late house-leases use the word in this sense: **1957** 12 f. ἐν τὸ ἐθρίου (l. τῷ αἰθρίῳ)
μονόχ[ωρον] cὺν χρηcτηρίοις; **1964** ὁλόκληρον μονόχωρον τυγχάνον [ὑ]ποκάτω τῆς ἀ[ψ]ῖδος. Cf. the use
of δίχωροc in PCairMasp. 340 verso 41; *CGL* s.v. τρίχωρον tres cameras siue tres absidas. Latin *trichorum*,

which is already used by Statius, is alleged to mean 'room with three semi-circular niches', see Pauly–Wissowa s.v.

15 ff. Ammonius and Apollonius belong to a group of 'brothers', threatened by internal quarrels and exposed to attack from outside; for Ammonius at least the future is black (28). A Christian context would be possible: Nilus Ancyranus uses the same words, *PG* 79. 144A (τί ... ἀγαπᾷ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα ἢ τὴν ... ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν;); the burden is much the same in *I Clement*, an epistle περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας to the warring church of Corinth (47. 7 καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοὴ οὐ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι).

If a Christian context were posited, it would be tempting to equate ἕτεροι (20) with Clement's ἑτεροκλινεῖς; and to interpret the 'crossed' letter (3) as 'marked with the sign of the cross', compare the curious overlined χ̄ in line 2.

This hypothesis crumbles easily. (*a*) The sentiments are likely to have a wide distribution; cf. the equally cryptic PMerton III 115. (*b*) Only violence will produce a reference to the σταυρός in line 3. (*c*) The date is against it. Note that ἐπισκόπ(ῳ) cannot be read in 31.

17 ἀκαταλήρητοι: a new word. καταληρεῖν in the lexica has the meaning 'bore with talking'. For the sense 'talk down' cf. καταλαλεῖν; and κατακράζειν PFouad 87. 11.

28 f. ἀλ⟨λ⟩' ὑποφέρει Λεωνᾶς: of φ only the left-hand arc remains; otherwise the letters are certain. The version printed assumes that λεωνας is a proper name. ὑποφέρειν normally means 'endure', with an accusative of the disaster; this might be supplied from ἐπερχόμενα. A remoter alternative might be 'brings (them) upon (me)', cf. 488 19 οὐκ ὀλίγην βλάβην ὑποφέρει με (l. μοι). Or again, 'brings (me) down' (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.). I can do nothing with ἄλυπος or ἀλυπο-. Even the punctuation is not certain. Dr. Rea suggests a stop before Λεωνᾶς: an additional greeting from some other person, perhaps from the scribe himself.

31 Ἀπολλω( ): Ἀπολλω(νίου)? Ἀπολλω(νοπολίτῃ)?

3058. LETTER OF FLAVIUS TO MORUS

26 3B.52/D (4–6) a   12 × 22 cm.   Second century

A business letter of little interest. The writing is a practised cursive, with many letters corrected or overwritten. The back is blank, except for an ink line ruled parallel with the greater dimension, and a cross mark.

→   Φλαύιος Μώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
        ἐπὶ ἐταξάμην τῷ κοινωνῷ μου
        σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἕνεκα τῶν
        μετεώρων ἡμῶν, ἔτυχέν μοι ὀφθαλ-
5   μιᾶσαι. διὰ τούτου οὐκ ἀνέβην·
        ἐὰν οὖν ἀναβῇ ὁ κοινωνός μου,
        γενοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀπολ-
        λώνιον τὸν γραμ⟨μ⟩ατέα ἡμῶν
        καὶ ἀπάρτισαι τὰ ζητούμενα
10   πρὸς ἡμᾶς· γενοῦ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖν
        τὸν ἀρχέφοδον καὶ ἐπίγνωτι ἢ ἔδω-

κε τὰc τρεῖc μνᾶc τῷ τὸ cειτικόν·

ἐὰν μὴ ἦν δεδοκώc, ἀπήταιcον

τὸν Πτολεμαῖ⟨ν⟩ τὴν μ⟨ν⟩ᾶ⟨ν⟩ c᾽ου'· ἕωc οὖν

15 ἀναβῶ, ἔρρωc̄ο.

ὑπέταξά cοι τοκαταμ̣αρα τοῦ

πυροῦ· ἔcτι δέ· ἐν μὲν οἰκίᾳ

Ἀμεννέωc αὐλητοῦ (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) φη

ἐν δὲ Cαραπᾶτοc οἰκίᾳ (ἀρτ.) υπ

20 καὶ παρὰ Εὐαγγέλ᾽λ᾽ου ⟦ενχειρ.πα̣θε̣...

(πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) c̣ν⟧ καὶ ἐν δημοcίοιc θηcαυροῖc

τὸ λεῖπον.

2 l. ἐπεί   4 χ of ετυχεν corr.   7 cυ(ν) corr.   11 η corr. l. ἐπίγνωθι εἰ   12 (τ)ο
corr.   13 l. ἦ δεδωκὼc ἀπαίτηcον   14 (ο)υν corr.   18, 21 ⨍ ÷

'Flavius to Morus his brother, greetings. After I arranged with my partner to come up for our business pending, I went and got ophthalmia. This is why I didn't come up. So if my partner comes up, go with him to Apollonius our secretary and settle the matters under dispute with us. Go to Ptolemaeus the policeman and discover whether he's given the three minas to the corn man. If he hasn't given them, dun Ptolemaeus for your mina (?). So, until I come up—good health!

I've subjoined the list (?) for the wheat, as follows: in the house of Amenneus the flute-player, 508 art. of wheat; in the house of Sarapas, 480 art.; from Evangelus ... and in the public granaries the remainder.'

12 τῷ τὸ cειτικόν: sc. ἀπαιτοῦντι?

14 The papyrus has τονπ⟦[ρ]⟧τολεμαιτηνμαč̈ἐωco⟦...⟧υν. The emended text printed does at least harmonize with line 12.

15 The writer seems to have combined the abbreviation ερρ̄ with the full form ερρωco.

16 τοκαταμαρα: he must have intended τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα. Possibly he did in fact write αγτρα for ανδρα; if so both ν and τ are anomalous. Or κατὰ ⟨κα⟩μάραν (Turner).

18 αὐλητοῦ: or possibly Αὐλητοῦ.

20-21 ενχειρ.πα̣θε̣... (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) c̣ν: this phrase is overlined as far as (πυρ.), and underlined up to the end: I have taken this, doubtfully, as a mark of deletion. The first part is difficult. (a) ἐν χειρί might be read, then e.g. Παθ...c (but neither Παθέωc nor Παθείουc will fit). But one might expect a plural, if the meaning is 'in the keeping of', cf. BGU 844. 8 f., 1095. 12. (b) Some form of ἐγχειρίζειν would suit the sense; but I can find nothing which suits the traces.

3059. Letter of Didyme to Apollonius

20 3B.37/G (1–2) a   11·5×7·5 cm.   Second century

A fragmentary letter, remarkable only for the striking metaphor of affection in lines 2–5.

→   Διδύμη Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι   (*Back* →) ἀπὸ Διδύ[μης
           καὶ ἡλίωι χαίρειν.
           γείνωσκέ με μὴ βλέπουσαν τὸν ἥλιον
           διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαί σε ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ·
5   οὐ γὰρ ἔχω ἄλλον ἥλιον εἰ μὴ σέ. εὐ-
           χαριστῶ δὲ Θεωνᾶτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου
           . . .].αι ἃ ἔπεμψα τῷ πατρί σου
           . . .].ο Θέωνος Ἀθηναίου τοῦ φίλου

                      .   .   .   .

'Didyme to Apollonius her brother and sun, greetings. You must know that I do not view the sun, because you are out of my view; for I have no sun but you. I am grateful to your brother Theonas. (Take delivery of?) what I have sent to your father . . . Theon son of Athenaeus your friend . . .'

1 Above this line is a single sign, approximately centred, in shape like a thickly written cursive beta.
2 ἡλίωι: the nearest parallel I have found is in Galen (xix 680 K), who addresses a friend as ἥλιε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς.
7–8 The writer tends to divide words; there are slight spaces to suggest the articulation after].αι and].ο. In 7 perhaps κόμι]σαι.

3060. Letter of Ptolemaeus to Horis

22 3B.20/A (3–4) a   15·8×22·2 cm.   Second century

This letter is largely taken up with the usual catalogue of goods received; the asyndetic sentences are uncompromisingly businesslike. There are a few points of lexical interest. The hand is of the earlier second century.

→   Πτολεμα[ῖ]ος Ὡρεῖτι [τῷ] ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
           ἐκομι[σά]μην ἐφίππ[ιον] παρὰ Σαραπᾶτος καὶ
           σύνθε[σι]ν Σπανὴν ἡ[μιτ]ριβῆν [τεθ]εραπευμένην
           καὶ ἐπικ[ά]ρσιον ὁμοίως ἡμιτρ[ιβῆ]ν καὶ τῷ παιδί μου
5   κουκκ[.]λον πορφυροῦν ἄγναφον καὶ ἄ[λ]λο χιτώ-
           νιον ζμαράγδινον [π]άντα ἐν ἱλήματι καινῷ
           λεντίῳ καὶ κανίσκ[ιο]ν ὑελοῦν καὶ κεράμιον τα-

                                    \

ραχίων καὶ κραβάτην καὶ κασιτερινα .[.].γ.ατρια

ἐν caλωδίῳ ....α .υ.αικεια δ χιτώνιον λευκὸν

10   παιδικὸν καὶ κάμπτραν καὶ ῥάβδον· οὐκ ἐκο-

μιcάμην τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ ἐριδίου τοῦ λωδίνου·

πέμψον Τρύφωνα ἢ τὴν κυρίαν ἐπεὶ αὐτός

με ὑπηρετεῖ· [[δεδωκαc]] ὑποτέθειμαι τὰ ἱμά-

τια τὰ λευκὰ ἕνεκα τιμῆc cίτου ἵνα φάγωμεν.

15   ἐρρῶcθαί cε εὔχομαι.

κέχρημαι παρὰ Τρύφωνοc δραχμὰc ὀκτώ.

(*Back* →) ἀπόδοc ῾Ωρεῖτι ἀπὸ Πτολεμα[[λεμ]]ίου ἀδελφῷ .....

3, 4 l. ἡμιτριβῆ   13 ὑπηρετει   ἱμα-

'Ptolemaeus to Horis his brother, greetings. I have received a saddle-cloth from Sarapas, and a Spanish outfit, half-worn and repaired, and a striped (?) garment, likewise half-worn, and for my boy a purple hood, unfulled, and another tunic, emerald-green—all in a new linen wrapping; and a glass basket and a jar of pickled fish and a mattress and ... tin ... in ... a child's white tunic and a chest and a rod. I have not received the mina of lotus-coloured (?) wool. Send Tryphon or the mistress, since the master himself is helping me. I have pawned the white cloaks for the price of corn so that we can eat. I pray for your health. I have borrowed eight drachmas from Tryphon.'

(Address) 'Deliver to Horis from Ptolemaeus his brother . . .'

5 κουκκ[.]λον: Latin *cucullus*; the diminutive κουκκούλιον is known elsewhere (PMich. 482. 4 and n.). The expected spelling would be κούκκ[ου]λον but the space seems to allow only one letter in the lacuna.

6–7 ἐν ἰλήματι καινῷ λεντίῳ: if the readings are right, λεντίῳ must be an adjective (*linteo*); elsewhere in the papyri the word is always neuter as a noun. For εἴλημα, in the sense of 'wrapping', LSJ cites the unidentified Ionic writer *ap*. Stobaeus 3. 28. 21 (p. 624 l. 13 Wachsmuth); add Epiphanius, *haer*. 42. 11; CGL εἴλημα . . . *volucrum* . . .

8 κραβάτην, if correct, must be for κραβάτιον. In what follows, the most likely division is κας⟨c⟩ιτέ-ρινα .[.].γ.α τρία; of the middle word I can make nothing, indeed the second element of the group which I have read as γ. looks like nothing at all in this hand. Granted that τρία is the numeral, the next word will be ἐν and not ἕν. caλωδίῳ should refer to a container or wrapping (the letters are certain, except the final ω, which is overwritten, or perhaps intersected by an extended horizontal from the next letter). caλώτιον with τ appears three times in papyri: **920** 5 in a list of foodstuffs; PRyl. 172. 15 caλώτια δώδεκα as part of the rent-in-kind of a palm-grove; SB I 1. 25 ῥιζία δύο caλωτίων ἢ λαβῶν καὶ ρι[.....κ]ορακίων; perhaps also OTait P. 295. 9 (*BL* iii 270) caλοῦτιν βράκανον. It is tempting to understand the word as a foodstuff produced in palm-groves. But this hardly suits SB 1, where the context is all objects and implements. There is moreover a similar word caλούcιον (-ώcιον PCZ I 59–014 b 11) which clearly refers to some kind of container: of wine PCZ IV 59–698. 33 etc., of meat PCZ I 59–012. 44 and PSI 428. 55. (All these come from the Zeno archive.) 'Jar' would fit our text; and indeed OTait P. 295, if βρακάνον (for -ων) is a right conjecture. But I cannot reconcile the other instances.

9 ....α.υ.αικεια: γυναικεῖα is almost irresistible, but I cannot make the traces into a ν; before it possibly τάλ[λ]ια. The apparent absence of connective καί before the two items in 9 is odd: so there may be some basic flaw in the reading.

11 λωδίνου: there is a trace between ο and υ, which I have taken to be accidental. ν seems to be certain; not λωδικίου. The writer presumably intended λωτίνου: lotus-coloured?

3061–3062. Letters to Archelaus

33 4B.82/F (1-3) a–b

3061. 12 × 18·8 cm.
3062. 8·7 × 30 cm.

First century

These two letters come from the same layer of papyri, and were presumably found together; this suggests that the Archelaus addressed is the same in both. Archelaus served at some time as secretary to the strategus of the Panopolite (**3062** 17 f.); one friend was secretary to an εἰcαγωγεύc (15). He moved, that is, in official circles; and so knew how to obtain a policeman and an order to arrest (**3061** 9). For the rest, his correspondents deal in commonplace private business. The interest of the letters is in the view they give of the world of petty bureaucrats; the contempt for 'Egyptians', **3061** 13, continues the tradition of Theocritus 15. 48 and anticipates **1681** and PGiss. 40 ii 28 f.

To judge from the hands, this correspondence belongs to the period Claudius–Vespasian.

3061

→   Ἡρακλᾶc Ἀρχελάωι τῶι υἱῶι
χαίρειν.
κόμιcαι διὰ Παcῃέουc τὸ δελ-
φάκ[ιον] καὶ ψιαθ[. . . . .]. [

5   [[κυθρα]] 'βαυκαλ(ίῳ)' μόcχια κρέα ε̄ καὶ
ἡψη{μη}μένα ἐν χάρτῃ ἀριθ(μῷ) ϛ
καὶ ἐν χειλώματι κριθῆc χ(οίνικαc) δ.
καλῶc ποιήcειc πέμψαc μοι
ἐρημοφύλακα cὺν διπλώματι

10   ἐπὶ Λαcτᾶν Θώνιοc ἀπὸ Τήεωc,
ἐπεὶ ὕβριν μοι οὐ μεικρὰν
παρέcχεν. ὅρα οὖν μὴ ἀμελή-
cῃc. οἶδαc γὰρ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπ(τίων).
ἐὰν τινοc ἄλλου χρῄζῃc, γρά-

15   φε. οὐκ ἔπεμψά cοι παλαιὸν κερά(μιον)
μὴ ἀνάγκῃ περιcτῶμεν 'ἐὰν' ἐνθά-
δε [[εαν]] cὺν τῷ ἐγλογιcτῇ παραγε( ).
ἔρρω(cο).

Left margin 19 ἔγραψε Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολ(εμαίου) "περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιςτοῦ ἐάν τι

20 ἦν δήλωςόν [μ]οι".

Back → X Ἀρχελάωι υἱῶι.

5 βαυκα^λ 1. μόςχεια 6 αριθ 7 ᵟχ 13 αιγυ) 15 κερᴸ 17 παραγᵉ 18 ερρ^ω
19 πτ^λο

'Heraclas to Archelaus his son, greetings. Receive through Pases (?) the piglet and . . . rush-mats . . . five pieces of veal (in?) a pot and boiled pieces in paper 6 in number and 4 choenices of barley in a box. Please send me a desert-guard with an order against Lastas son of Thonis from Teis, since he's offered me considerable violence. Make sure you look after it. You know how the Egyptians are. If you have any other requirement, write. I haven't sent you an old jar (?), in case we should find ourselves in a tight spot if you (?) arrive here with the accountant. Good health!

(margin) Apollonius son of Ptolemaeus has written 'About the accountant, let me know if anything turns up.'

(address) To Archelaus my son.'

3 Παςηξουϲ: η is more probable than ν or υ; μ seems to be excluded by the narrowness of the trace.

4 ψιαθ[: ψίαθοϲ or ψιάθιον. The other articles in the list are edible. It may be then that the matting is the wrapping, as for the consignment of meat in PBeattyPanop. 1. 121 f. and 161 f. But the space allows only a numeral, not a defining genitive, given the probable restoration of the next line: e.g. ψιάθ[ουϲ β̄ κα]ὶ [ἐν] | βαυκαλ(ίῳ) μόσχια κρέα ε̄.

5 [[κυθρα]]: the scribe wrote ἐν] κύθρᾳ, then replaced the noun with the more precise βαυκαλίῳ. κρέα must be joints of meat, as at **2190** 63; in pots, as e.g. PRyl. 627. 72 (ἀγγεῖα), **1923** 10 (διπλᾶ).

6 An interlinear insertion. The boiled meat was wrapped in papyrus, like the fish of the Roman markets (*Parola del Passato* 121 (1968) 287). **2571** 11 has meat ἐν αργυρι....αρταιϲ, but the problems of the passage remain unsolved.

8–9 A desert-policeman and an order to arrest: Archelaus could use his position in the office of the strategus, from which such orders usually emanated (PLund VI p. 5); a rather similar proceeding in **2730**, which again calls the document διπλωμάτιον. But there is a practical difficulty about this hypothesis. The man to be arrested comes from Teis, which is in the Thmoesepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite; but it is the strategus of the Panopolite to whom Archelaus is attached in **3062** 17, and the Panopolite village of Zmis where he is to be found (ib. 4). It is still possible that his official career gave him special influence in the matter of Lastas; but apparently a different stage of his career from that represented in **3062**.

15 κερά(μιον) assumes that the hooked stroke above ρ represents *alpha*. Otherwise κέρ(μα) (Rea) might be read; for mentions of παλαιὸν νόμισμα (all 3rd cent.) see Johnson and West, *Currency* 68 f.

17 παραγε( ): παραγέ(νη)? or παραγέ(νηται)/-γέ(νωνται)? The situation was perhaps this: Heraclas half-expects someone (the strategus?) to arrive with the eclogistes, i.e. the Alexandrian official who oversaw the nome finances; the better wine has to be reserved for this eventuality. Numerous documents show the eclogistes receiving reports and writing for information and investigation (most recently PPetaus 25). But I have found no other mention of a visit in person. It would obviously be a difficult occasion, and Apollonius (line 19) is accordingly anxious for early warning.

The reading supposes a cursive γ not exampled elsewhere in this letter. Palaeographically, ϲ would be more plausible; but I don't see what to do with παρὰ ϲὲ or παραϲε( ).

19–20 ἦν for ᾖ, as e.g. PMich. 477. 13, 487. 14, 511. 12, **3058** 13. We might put a stop before ἐάν; or better take περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιϲτοῦ and all that follows as Apollonius' quoted words.

3062

→   Cαραπίων Ἀρχελάωι

     τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.

     τὸν ἱcτὸν τῶν ἐπι-

     καρcίων εἰc Ζμεῖνα

5   ἐκόμιcα ὡc καταλαμ-

     βάνων ὑμᾶc, καὶ πάν-

     τωc ἄν coι πεπόμφειν,

     εἰ μὴ Ἑρμῆc μοι ἀ-

     πήγγειλε δεδωκέ-

10   ναι coι ⸌ἕτερα⸍. οἱ coὶ πάντεc

     ἔρρωνται.

       εὔχομαί cε ἐρρῶcθαι,

       ἄδελφε.

     (m.²) Ἀπολλώνιοc ὁ cυνγρ( )

15   Θέωνοc εἰcαγωγέωc

     πολλά cε ἀcπάζομαι.

17   (*Back* → m.²?) Ἀρχελάωι γραμματεῖ Θέωνο(c) cτρα(τηγοῦ) Πανοπ(ολίτου).

    14 cυνγρ�   17 θεων° cτρ̄ πανο)

'Sarapion to Archelaus his brother, greetings. I took the length of transverse fabric to Zmis, assuming that I'd find you there; and I would in any case have sent it to you, but that Hermes reported that he had given you others. All your people are well. I pray for your health, brother. (2nd hd.) I, Apollonius, fellow secretary of Theon the court-clerk, send you many greetings.'

(Address) 'To Archelaus, secretary of Theon the strategus of the Panopolite.'

3–4 τὸν ἱcτὸν τῶν ἐπικαρcίων: I take ἱcτόν to be a 'length' of material, rather than the loom on which material of this kind is woven. Cf. PSI 387. 5 ἡμιτυβίων ἱcτόν, Ps.-Aristeas 320 (p. 84 Wendland) βυccίνων ὀθονίων ἱcτοὺc ἑκατόν, of which the second at least is unambiguous. The noun ἐπικάρcιον is glossed *amiculum* in the *CGL*. The basic meaning of the adjective is 'sideways': i.e. 'striped', according to the dictionaries; 'woven on a horizontal loom' (as opposed to ὀρθοΰφικά), according to POslo II 56. 5 n. If the former, compare the striped stuffs from Dura (*Final Report* IV ii 13).

4 Ζμεῖνα: a village in the Panopolite, PCairoMasp. 170 and 171.

14 cυνγρ( ): BGU 451. 14 attests the noun cυγγραμματεύc; cf. 1427 2 cυγγραμ(ματεύοντι). If either is the correct resolution here, cυν- must have a rather wide sense: Apollonius and Archelaus are colleagues because both are γραμματεῖc, not because they work for the same master.

15 εἰcαγωγέωc: the prefect had an εἰcαγωγεύc on his staff, see PHamb. I pp. 78 f. and PStrass. 179. 7 f.; so did strategi, cf. PFay. 23 a 3 γενόμενοc γραμματεὺc νομῶν τινων ἰδίου λόγου καὶ ἱcαγωγεὺc cτρατηγοῦ Ἀμμωνιακῆc. The other references specify no employer. It is an easy guess that Theon here was clerk to the strategus Theon of line 17.

3063. Letter of Diogenes to Apollogenes

34 4B.78/D (14)   16×25·5 cm.   Second century

A vigorous and literate letter about agricultural matters. The body of the text is written in a back-sloping hand; characteristic forms are ε, η (in the 'h' shape), κ tall and narrow, μ (in three movements), broken τ, wide υ, ω flattened at the base. Some features of this could belong to the first century (e.g. **3051**); the general type belongs to the second, compare Schubart, *Pal.* Abb. 35 (Hadrian) and others cited by Cavallo, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 227 f.; it has been seen as the first stage of the 'Chancery' style. The second hand is more advanced in the same direction: notice the tall, straight-backed ε and c (the cap of c sometimes a separate tick).

The cutting down of vines (3 ff.) was a serious matter; taxes could be reduced on the land (**2847** i 5–6). But here apparently the ground was to be sown, not replanted.

The back has been reused for two columns of accounts, largely illegible. I cannot make out the remains of an address among them.

→   Διογένης Ἀπολλογένει τῶι φιλτάτωι

          . . . . . .   χαίρειν.

        μυριάκις [γ]εγραφὼς ἐκκόψαι τὰ πρὸς τῷ Φάι

        αμπε[. .]. ὡς ἔδοξεν Δημητρ[ί]ῳ τῷ γυμνασι-

5   άρχῳ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ καὶ Cώτᾳ πάλιν cου ἔλαβον

        ἐπιcτολὴν cήμερον πυνθανομένου τί βού-

        λομαι γενέcθαι· πρὸc ἣν ἀντιγράφω ἔκκοψον ἔκκο-

        ψον ἔκκοψον ἔκκοψον ἔκκοψον· ἰδοὺ πλειcτάκιc

        λέγω· καὶ cπαρήτω οἷc δεῖ γενέcθαι μετὰ τῆc

10   . . [. . . .] . . τηc νῦν ἐν χόρτῳ οὔcηc ὅταν ὁ χόρ-

        τοc βρωθῇ ἢ κοπῇ· θαυμάζω εἰ χρεία ἐcτὶ τρι-

        ῶν ζευγῶν εἰc ἐπαντληcμὸν τῆc ἐν Χαλώ-

        θει ἀμπέλου εἰc ὀλίγον περιεcταμένηc· οὐ γὰρ

        τῆc τειμῆc ἐcτιν τοῦ περιccοῦ ζεύγουc ὡc τῶν

15   τροφῶν καὶ τῆc ἄλληc δαπάνηc· εἰ δέ γε cὺ δο-

        κεῖc χρείαν εἶναι, διάπεμψαι τὴν ἐπιcτολήν

        μου εἰc Ὀξυρυγχ. . . ν πρὸc Cαραπίωνα ἣν cυνειλη-

        .] . . [. . . . .] . η, ᾧ δηλώcειc πότερον ἀρcενικὸν

        θέλειc [. . . . .] ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρc[ένων θη-

20   λυκὸν . ο . . . . ον δὲ θηλυκοῦ χρείαν εχ . [. . . .

        ἐλάccονα (m.²) ʽεἴcθιʼ [[τρ]]. ἐκομιcάμην δε[. . . .

        τὸ κεράμιον τῆc ἐλαίαc τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [. . . .

γέγρ[α]φα, φύλαςςε ἕ ὣς ἂν πα[ρ]ὰ ςοὶ γένωμαι.

ἔρρωςο φίλτατε

25   Ἀπολλογένη.

ἔρρω(ςο). Μεχ(εὶρ) ι̅ϛ̅.

26 ερρ̣ω̣ μ̣ε̣χ̣

'Diogenes to Apollogenes his very dear friend, greetings. A thousand times I've written to you to cut down the vines at Phai (?), as Demetrius the gymnasiarch and Adrastus and Sotas decided. But today again I get a letter from you asking what I want done. To which I reply: cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down: there you are, I say it again and again. They are to be sown with what has to go there, along with the . . . which is now under fodder, once the fodder is eaten up or harvested. I find it surprising if it needs three pairs of oxen to water the vineyard at Chalothis, which hasn't come to much. It isn't so much a matter of the cost of the extra pair, as of their feed and the other expenses. But if you do think it's needed, send on my letter to . . . to Sarapion . . . You will inform him whether you want a male . . . a female instead of the males. I must tell you that . . . has (?) less need of the female. (2nd hd.) I received the jar of oil. The other things I've written about, keep them until I join you. Good health, my dear friend Apollogenes. Good health. Mecheir 16.'

1 Ἀπολλογένει satisfies the traces, and is a possible reading of the very cursive line 25. (Not -φανει.) The name does not appear in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum* or Pape–Benseler, except that grammarians comment on the formation. But an Arcadian of this name appears in a Delphic inscription of *c.* 200 B.C. (see *RE* s.v.); another is the apex of an amorous triangle in Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 2. 11.

2 . . . . . . : one expects a word here to balance χαίρειν; and there are indeed discolorations which might be the traces of *c.* 6 letters.

3 μυριάκις: not in WB or its supplements; but PSI 1334. 9 ἐπέςτειλά ςοι γὰρ μυριαντάκις. It is a rare word in any case; Stephanus quotes among post-classical authors only Archimedes (in the literal sense) and Galen (in the loose sense). The form in -αντάκις is apparently accommodated to numeral forms in -άντα (as in Modern Greek).

τῷ Φάι: the letters seem certain. If this articulation is right, cf. PSI 77. 13 (lease from Oxy-rhynchus, A.D. 551/65) ἐδάφους Φάει; but clearly the reading is doubtful. Φάνι (2195 113) cannot be read here.

4 ἀμπε[. .]. : the final trace might be the tail of α (ignoring some stray ink after it); perhaps ἀμπέ[λι]α, though the diminutive does not occur elsewhere in the papyri. The space is rather short for -[λικ]ά.

9 ςπαρήτῳ: of τ only the left half of the cross-bar; of ω only something which might be the final upright.

10 The traces at the beginning are minimal. . .[. . . .]ης τῆς could be read.

14 ἐςτιν: the meaning is presumably 'it isn't so much a question of . . .' But I can't find any parallel.

17 Ὀξυρυγχ. . .ν: οξυρυγχον was written; above ο a superscribed ε followed by traces. Presumably he intended Ὀξυρυγχείτην or -τῶν?

17 f. Cf. POslo 84. 3 ς]υνείληςα τῇ ἐπιςτολῇ. It is likely enough that Diogenes enclosed a second letter, to be sent to Sarapion in case of need. The clause ended]ςη or]τη; before that the preserved strip of papyrus (which should show the lower halves of letters) is blank, for the space of at least three letters. Perhaps then ςυνείλη[ς]α [ταύ] (*vac.*) τη. But I should have expected the feet of ταυ to show.

20 I had tried ποτερον δε; but this fails on the ρ (the trace is an unsuitably short and oblique descender). Possibly (a name) δὲ θ. χρείαν ἔχε[ιν.]ο.κελον suits the traces.

21 e.g. δὲ [καί.

22 e.g. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [ἅπερ.

24 ff. The hand is much more cursive than in 21–3; but the ink and pen look the same; probably therefore the same writer in a hurry.

3064. LETTER OF THEAGENES AND PANECHOTES

4 1B.61/K (b)   9·2 × 10·3 cm.   Third century

This letter is more or less complete except at the foot; the back is blank. The writers address themselves to an unnamed village community. Their communication is in two sections, divided by a blank line-end in 8; in both the subject is liturgies.

Lines 2–7. Representatives of the nome had approached a procurator, complaining that someone had registered them in the city, that is in the metropolis instead of in their own village; the procurator in answer has handed them over to the villagers to do liturgical service. It is a good guess that the aim of the officials (whoever they were) who made these registrations was to increase the number of those liable to metropolite liturgies. If this is right, **3064** reflects the situation Septimius Severus deals with by enacting μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμητ[ῶν εἰς τὰ]ς μητροπολειτικὰς ἄγεϲθαι λειτουρ[γ]είας (SB 7696. 83); the continuing tendency leads to the trial before Appius Sabinus, SB 7696.

Lines 9–13. This section concerns individuals. Dionysius is perhaps one of those misregistered, the comarch the responsible official; a charge is to be brought in the court of the epistrategus.

The hand is a decent cursive of the second or earlier third century. The mention of a comarch, and the liturgical quarrel, make the third-century date much more likely (10 n.).

→   Θ]εαγένης καὶ Πανεχώτης τοῖς
      ἀπὸ κώμης χαίρειν.
      εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς θέλομεν ὅτι πάντες
      οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ προϲῆλθαν τῷ
5   ἐπιτρόπῳ ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀπογρα-
      ψάντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλειν, καὶ
      παραδέδωκεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς κωμή-
      ταις εἰς λιτουργίαν·
      Διονύϲιος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς Παταῆϲιος
10   μετέδωκε τῷ κωμάρχῃ ὥϲτε
      εἰ]πεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιϲτρα-
      τήγ]ου ἕνεκεν τῆς λιτουργίας
      ...]. θέλετε ἀνέλθατε (vac.) ....[
         ].ϛ..α[

    .   .   .   .   .   .

3 ὕμας   5 επιτροπω: ω corr. from ου   9 ὕιος

'Theagenes and Panechotes to those of the village, greetings. We want you to know that all those from the nome approached the procurator about those who have registered them in the city, and he has handed them over to the villagers for liturgical service.

And Dionysius the son of Pataesis has indicated to the comarch that he should speak (?) against him before the epistrategus about the liturgy . . .'

5 f. ἀπογραψάντων αὐτοὺς: the use of the active is striking, and must refer to the officials who made the registration; if the meaning were 'those who have registered themselves', the middle would be required. But who were the officials? and what kind of ἀπογραφή is meant? The appeal against it goes to an ἐπίτροπος: he might be identified with the epistrategus of line 11. Or was it some special procurator?

9 ff. μετέδωκε will mean 'inform', or perhaps 'deliver a summons'. But the rest is ambiguous: αὐτόν might be Dionysius or the comarch; the subject of εἰ]πεῖν might be Dionysius, the comarch, or the villagers. Easiest perhaps 'Dionysius has informed the comarch that he (the comarch) is to answer him (Dionysius) before the epistrategus in the matter of the liturgy . . .' This fits, given the function of the comarch in submitting nominations for liturgies. But I am not sure that it coheres with the abuses implied in 5–6. If Dionysius is the guilty official, and the comarch is to speak against him, line 9 must be *nominativus pendens*.

10 κωμάρχῃ: the office survives from the Ptolemaic period for a few years (OFayûm 8 of A.D. 5); then vanishes until the third century. The earliest attestations are: *Oxyrhynchite* A.D. 209/10 (**2121** 84, where the expansion κω(μάρχης) is very likely, given the subject of the text), A.D. 247/8 (**2123** 5); *Heracleopolite* A.D. 223 (PRossGeorg. V 20 R 3–4, as corrected in *BL* iii 158); *Fayûm* A.D. 226/7 (PLond. 1157 R, see for the date *JRS* 57 (1967) 137 n. 29), A.D. 250–253/6 (SB 9408–9, Heroninus Archive); *Marmarica* c. A.D. 204 (PMarm.: for the date see Rea, *Par. del Pass.* 112 (1967) 50–52). (PLond. 1220, of A.D. c. 202–7, has been corrected by Dr. J. D. Thomas. The other items cited by H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* 131 f., are uncertainly dated and sometimes uncertainly read.)

3065. LETTER OF ARIUS TO AGRIPPINA AND CORNELIUS

20 3B.36/J (2–3) a　　　　　　　19·8 × 25 cm.　　　　　　　Third century

A substantial sheet, written in a fine large cursive of the third century. It was probably the same hand which wrote, though more hastily, the final greeting (21–3). The letter was folded up, and the address added on each of the two outer surfaces of the packet.

The writer is called Arius, and his brother Stephanus; but the parents he addresses have Roman names, Cornelius and Agrippina. The style of the letter is jerky and repetitious, the grammar vulgar. Either Arius was a better penman than he was composer; or the whole thing was dictated.

The content is tantalizing. Arius is about to make his escape from an embattled city, where unheard-of atrocities have happened, 'not war but man-eating'. The city is down-river from Oxyrhynchus (11). One might guess that it was Alexandria, and derive the letter from the battles which took place there rather frequently in the third century—the massacre under Caracalla (215), the contest between Macrinus and Elagabalus, the rising of Macrianus and Quietus, the Palmyrene wars, the revolt of Domitius Domitianus—or the incidental civil wars and pogroms. I see no way of choosing among these, except that the hand suggests the earlier rather than the later third

century (cf. e.g. PBerol. 7216, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) pl. 8, reign of Severus Alexander). The general subject and tone have a close parallel in PRossGeorg. III 1, which Roberts referred to the events of 268–70 (see *Aus Antike und Orient*, Festschrift Schubart, 112).

The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed, and reading is often difficult. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Shelton for his help.

→ Ἄρει[ος] Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ Κορνηλίωι τοῖς γονεῦςι
      πολλὰ   χαίρειν.
    πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχ[ο]μαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ϲωτηρίας
    ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Ϲτεφάνου. ἤδη πολλὰς ἐπιϲτο-
5   λὰς ὑμῖν ἔγραψα δηλῶν ὅτι μ[έλλ]ω πλέειν καὶ ϲωθῆ-
    ναι τῆς πόλεω[ς] τάχα δὲ .... περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε
    γενομ[έ]ν[ω]ν· τοιαῦ[τ]α γέγονεν οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐκ τοῦ
    αἰῶν[ο]ς γέγονεν· νῦν ἀνθρωποφαγεία ἐϲτὶν καὶ οὐ πόλε-
    μος .[..].....οϲεϲτ....της πόλεωϲ εὑρεθεὶς νῦν
10   ηομ..λω.π.......[..].δε..ω τῷ Ἐπείφ· δηλ[ώ]ϲει
    δέ ϲοι Αὐξάνουϲα τὴν ἡμέραν ᾗ [ἀ]ν[απλ]εύϲω καὶ τὸ ὄνο-
    μα δι᾿ ο[ὗ] ἐάν ϲοι πέμψῃ ἃ [κ]ατέλιπ[ο]ν τραγήματα· ἔϲτιν δέ·
    κάροια διακόϲια καὶ ἰϲχάδες διακοϲίας καὶ γραφῖα δύο·
    αὐτὰ λήμψῃ μετὰ καὶ ἐπιϲτολη..[..]ηϲ· διὸ κυρία μου
15   μήτηρ [.].εν.ακη......λεον χαίρου ὅτι ἔξω τῆϲ
    πόλεώς εἰμι· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤθελον [π]ρὸς ϲὲν ἐλθεῖν, ἡ δὲ τῆϲ
    πόλεως ἀνθρω....ια οὐκ ἀφῆκέν με· ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ζῶ-
    μεν..οκαιϲ....[.· ἄ]ϲπαϲαι τὸν ἀδελφόν μου
    Ϲτέφανον καὶ ....ν ϲου· ἄϲπαϲαι πρὸς ὄνομα
20   πάντας τοὺς ὑμᾶς φιλοῦντας πολλά.
          ἐ[ρρῶϲθ]αι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις
            ......ουντας καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας.
              .... Ἐπείφ ε″

(*Back* →)
24   ἀπόδος ....ρϲα μυροπώλῃ   ἵνα ἀπ[οδῷ Ἀ]γριππίνῃ μητρὶ
25   π(αρὰ) Ἀρείου υἱοῦ.
26   ἀπ[ό]δ(ος) εν..[..]..χει....[.] μυροπώλῃ   εἵν᾿ ἀποδ(ῷ)
                        Ἀγριππίνῃ μητρὶ π(αρὰ) Ἀρείου.

1, 24, 27 αγριπ᾿πινη   4 ϋμων   13 l. κάρυα ιϲχάδαϲ or διακόϲιαι   25 ϋιου

'Arius to Agrippina and Cornelius his parents, many greetings. Before all else I pray to the god for your health and that of my brother Stephanus. I've already written you many letters saying that I'm about to sail and get clear of the city. Perhaps . . . about what's happened here. Things have happened, the like of which hasn't happened through all the ages. Now it's cannibalism, not war . . . Auxanousa will tell you the day on which (?) I'm going to sail up river, and the name, whoever it is by whom (?) she sends the dried fruit I left behind, viz., two hundred walnuts and two hundred figs and two pens—these you will receive with . . . letter as well. So . . . rejoice the more, my lady mother, because I am outside the city . . . I wanted to come to you, but the . . . of the city has kept me here. Well, if we survive . . . My best wishes to my brother Stephanus and your . . . Many best wishes to all those who love you, each by name. I pray for your health for many years as you live in good fortune (?) and harmony. . . . Epeiph 5.'

(Address) 'Deliver to . . . the myrrh-seller, so that he can deliver it to Agrippina my mother from her son Arius.'

1 Ἀγριππίνηι: there is space for one letter before the ν, perhaps accidental; in 24 the reading is certain. The name is not in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum*.

6 τάχα δὲ: possibly τάχα δὲ ἠκο̣ύ̣[ca]τε̣ (Turner).

9 Perhaps .[..].....οc ἐcτιν ἐπὶ τῆc πόλεωc κτλ. The first letter is λ or μ.

10 At the beginning μ̣έ̣λλω would be a good reading; then ν or perhaps ει, εγ, ει; what follows would allow πλέε̣ιν. E.g. μ̣έ̣λλων πλέε̣ιν or μ̣έ̣λλω ἐγπλέε̣ιν (Shelton). But I cannot fit in the first two letters, of which ο is certain and η likely; not διο.

14 αὐτὰ: first in its sentence: an anticipation of Modern Greek usage for which Ljungvik (*Beiträge* 8) quotes **1592** 6 αὐτὰ γὰρ δεξαμένη 'having received these letters'.
ἐπιcτολη̣.̣.[..]ηc: perhaps ἐπιcτολῆc ε̣[μ]ῆc or ἀ[λλ]ηc or α[ὐτ]ῆc.

15 After μήτηρ, perhaps [κ]α̣ὶ ἐν κακῇ ...... πλέον χαίρου. With χαίρου cf. NT Acts 3. 8 (D) χαιρόμενοc, *Passio Perpetuae* p. 82. 17 Gebhardt χαίρεcθε. The middle is the Byzantine and Modern Greek form; but the tendency is long-standing, and ascribed by Aristophanes to the barbarous Datis (*Pax* 291).

17 Probably ἀνθρωποφαγία again, though the space is a little short. The traces are no more than scattered spots of ink.

18 ..ο: before ο apparently φ or ψ.

22 Perhaps εὐ̣τυχοῦντα̣c.

26 εν: perhaps ἐν 'Ὀξ[υρ]υ̣ν̣χείτῃ. One expects a proper name before μυροπώλη: Ἀρc[ᾶ] might suit the space here and the preserved letters in 24.

3066. LETTER OF APOLLONIUS

19 2B.74/B (a) 11·5 × 16·3 cm. Third century

A private letter of agricultural instructions, written across the fibres on the back of **3054**.

↓   Ἀπολλώνιοc Cαραπάμμωνι χαίρειν.
     ἔπεμψά cοι cάκκον ἵνα λάβῃc
     παρὰ τοῦ Παμέμφιοc cηcάμου
     ἀρτάβαc δύο καὶ ἀναπέμψῃc διὰ Ἀχιλλέωc
5   ἢ ἔχῃc παρὰ [c]ο̣ὶ ε̣[.].[.]λθ[.] ἔωc ἂν ἐρχόμε-
     νοc μ...[....]....[..]α̣ν τοῦ ἀχύρου
     καὶ ἀπέμεινας ἀλόγωc, καίτοι βου-

λομένου μου εἰπεῖν coι τὴν διατα-

γὴν τῆς καταcπορᾶc καὶ θρυοκοπίαc

10 τ.ν ἐπὶ τουτωι...ωι καὶ ὅπωc καῇ

ἡ δεῖcα· δήλωcον οὖν μοι εἰ μὴ ἑτοί-

μωc ἔχει ὁ Μῶροc ἀνελθεῖν καὶ εἰ εὗρεc

παρὰ c[ο]ί· ἐργαζέcθω μετὰ Μέλανοc τοῦ

τέκτονοc Πολυδεύκηc ὁ μεικρὸc καὶ μὴ

15 αὐτοῦ ἀποcτάτω· ἑτοιμαcθήτωcαν οὖ(ν)

αἱ μηχαναί, ἵνα μὴ ἀνέτοιμοι ὦμε-

θα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου επι[......

τλείcθω τὰ κτήματ[α].

(m.² ?) ἔρρωcο.

Back ↓ (in left margin of **3054**) :

20   (m.¹) Cα]ραπάμμωνι π(αρὰ) Ἀπο[λ]λωνίου.

2 ϊνα   15 o͞υ   16 ϊνα   20 π′

'Apollonius to Sarapammon, greetings. I've sent you a sack, so that you can get two artabas of sesame from Pamemphis and send them up by Achilles or keep them with you . . . until I come and . . . of the chaff. It's unreasonable, the way you've stayed away even though I wanted to tell you the programme for the sowing and the rush-cutting . . . and how the rubbish should be burned. So let me know whether Morus is prepared to come up and whether you found (him?) with you. Little Polydeuces is to work with Melas the carpenter, and not to leave his side. So have the water-wheels ready, so that we aren't unprepared after the . . . of the Nile. The properties are to be watered. Good health!'

(Address) 'To Sarapammon from Apollonius.'

5 Possibly ἐ[ν] Θ[ώ]λθ[ει]. Then ἕωc ἂν ἐρχόμενοc or ἕωc ἀνερχόμενοc.

6 μ...[: probably μετα[, e.g. μετα[φέρω.

10 Perhaps τῶν (the trace is a wide one). Then ἐπὶ τοῦ or ἐπὶ τούτωι? But the dotted iotas are like no others in the piece, and c might be a better reading of both.

17 επι[: with this preposition, the noun should refer to the rise or overflowing of the river. The normal documentary vocabulary has nothing suitable: but there would be literary backing for ἐπίδοcιν or ἐπίρρυcιν (or perhaps ἐπίρροιαν, cf. εὔροια **1409** 19 and perhaps **2874** i 28). See D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* 58–62, 69–71. Then (ἐπ)αν]|τλείcθω τὰ κτήματ[α]. The stop might come before μετὰ or after Νείλου ἐπι[ ].

3067. LETTER OF ACHILLION TO HIERACAPOLLON

19 2B.76/F (12–13) a   13 × 18·8 cm.   Third century

This letter is written in an elegant hand of the chancery type. The content is meagre, and belongs to those exchanges of civil nothings which spread during the third and fourth centuries. Achillion, the writer, was apparently strategus of the

Marmarica. There is other evidence that this remote and barbarous region belonged to the province of Egypt, at least in the later second and in the third century; and **3067** cetainly gives the impression that it was a nome like others in the Egyptian system, to be governed by career civil servants with friends at Oxyrhynchus. See P. Romanelli, *Rend. Pont. Acc. di Arch.* 16 (1940) 215–23.

→   Ἀχιλλίων Ἱερακαπόλ[λ]ωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ

                     χαίρειν.

       μέλλων μεταπέμπεσθαι τὴν ἀδελ-

       φὴν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὑ-

5   π' ἐμοῦ διαπεμφθέντων γράφω

       πρῶτον μὲν ἀσπαζόμενός σε

       καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν μου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν

       ἡμῶν Διονύσιον ἔπειτα προτρε-

       πόμενος γράφειν μοι περί τε τῆς σω-

10   τηρίας σου καὶ ὧν ἐντεῦθεν χρή-

       ζεις· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας ἔσει μοι

       χαρι]σάμενος· δόξομεν γὰρ διὰ

       τῶν γ]ραμμάτων ἀλλήλους ὁρᾶν.

          (*m.²*)   ἐρρῶσθαί [σ]ε εὔχομαι.

                         Back →

15   (*m.¹*)   Ἱερακαπόλλωνι [ἀδ]ελφῷι

      (*m.³*)   π(αρὰ) Ἀχιλλίωνος

                σ[τ]ρ(ατηγοῦ) Μαρμαρικῆς.

4 ϋ-   16 π'   17 σ[τ]ρ Ϛ

    'Achillion to Hieracapollon his brother, greetings. Since I am in process of sending for my sister, I send you a letter, as in duty bound, by the hands of those whom I have dispatched for this purpose: a letter first to salute you and my sister and our son Dionysius; secondly to exhort you to write to me about your health and about your requirements here. Do this, and you will be doing me a favour: we shall have the impression, through our letters, of seeing one another face to face. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health.'

    (Address) 'To Hieracapollon his brother (3rd hd.) from Achillion, strategus of the Marmarica.'

3068. Note about Amulet

20 3B.37/K (1–3) b   12·1 × 4·7 cm.   Third century

This brief note, without name of writer or addressee, is written across the fibres; the back of the slip is blank. The writer is interested in an amulet against tonsillitis. The amulet took the form of a gold plate, magically inscribed. Such plates were in common use; hence the objections of Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem (Lampe, *Patr. Gr. Lex.* s.v. περίαμμα). Instructions for their making are given, for example, in PGM vii 580 f.: φυλακτήριον . . . πρὸς πᾶcαν νόcον καὶ πάθοc, ἐπιγραφόμενον ἐπὶ χρυcέου πετάλου κτλ. The important part was the precise wording; and the recipient of this note is instructed to copy out the formula for tonsillitis and send it to Sarmates.

↓   τὸ πρὸc παρίcθμια περίαμμα

εἰc τὸ χρυcοῦν πέταλον τῷ Cαρμάτῃ

πέμψον γρά[.]ψαc εἰc πιττάκιον   .

ὡc περιέχει.

'The charm against tonsillitis on the gold plate, send it to Sarmates. Write it on a tablet word for word.'

1 παρίcθμια: not a serious complaint: Asclepius of Epidaurus treated it by gargling with cold water, Hippocrates cites it among ailments typical of older children (IG 4² (1) 126. 31; Hipp. *Aph.* 3. 26).

περίαμμα: amulets are mentioned in the magical prescriptions against various illnesses in BGU 1026 (22) 17. Cf. the curious ostracon published by Plaumann, *Archiv* 6. 220 f., where the writer several times mentions πεταλίαι and adds ἔχουcι δὲ αἱ πεταλίαι ἐπιγραφὴν ἐν φύλλοιc.

3–4 It is not clear why he should send the amulet and a copy of the words as well. Probably the writer intended 'Copy out the amulet on a tablet, and send the tablet to Sarmates.'

3069. Letter of Aquila to Sarapion

21 3B.26/A (5–7) a   10 × 22·2 cm.   Third/fourth century

A letter from an intellectual clique, written in an almost literary hand which I should assign to the third or early fourth century. The scribe may well be Aquila himself, since the greeting (25) is by the same hand as the main text. He seems to have used a very soft pen: the strokes are generally thick and dull, with occasional phrases in sharper and blacker lines as if he had sharpened the point. The one mark of punctuation is the rough breathing in line 5 ὁ.

The addressee was a philosopher (26). Aquila congratulates him on not flagging in his austerities, despite the difficult circumstances, and exhorts him to persist in the pursuit of virtue without yielding to worldly distractions. This sermon is familiar ground: such self-abnegation is naturally attributed by Philostratus to his assembly-kit

egg-head (*Vita Apollonii* 1. 8 and 13) ; Plotinus felt ashamed of existing in a body at all (Porphyry, *Vita* 1). The style is as self-conscious as the matter. Indeed the whole letter deserves to be compared with those of the Theophanes Archive, which show similar ambition in both hand and content : PHermRees 2–6, PRyl. 624, *Bull. Ryl. Lib.* 51 (1968) 177 (collected by A. Moscadi, *Aeg.* 50 (1970) 88 ff.).

→   Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι
                 χαίρειν.
        κομισάμενός σου τὰ γράμ-
        ματα πάνυ ἥσθην· ᾗ μάλιστα
5   ὁ ἡμέτερος Καλλίνεικος ἐμαρ-
        τύρει περὶ τῆς διαίτης σου ἧς
        ποιῇ καὶ ἐν τοιούτοις ὢν
        πράγμασι[[ν]], μάλιστα μὴ
        ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἀσκήσεως·
10   ἄξιον οὖν ἐστιν ἐπαινεῖν ἑ-
        αυτούς, οὐχ ὅτι ποιοῦμεν ταῦ-
        τα ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ ἐξαγόμεθα
        ὑφ' ἑαυτ[ῶν]· ἀνδραγάθε[ι] οὖν
        καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτέλεσον
15   ὡς ἀνὴ[ρ ἀ]γαθός, καὶ μ[ή σ]ε
        ταρασσέ[τ]ω ἢ πλοῦτος ἢ ὥρα
        ἢ ἄλλο τ[ι τ]ῶν τοιού[[ν]]των, ὡς
        οὐδὲν ὄφ[ελ]ός ἐστιν ἀρετῆς
        μὴ παρούσης, ἀλλὰ φροῦδα καὶ οὐ-
20   δενὸς ἄξια. θεῶν σωζόντων
        προσδέχομαί σε ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου.
        τὸ σκυλάκιον πέμψον Σωτη-
        ρίδι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴ νῦν ἐν ἀγρῷ δια-
        τρείβει. ἔρρω{σ}σο σὺν τοῖς σοῖς.
25   ἔρρω{σ}σο.

        (*Back* →)   Σαραπίωνι   φιλοσόφωι
                παρὰ Ἀκύλου
                φίλου.

        5 ὁ   13 -ε[ι] corr. from ι ?

'Aquila to Sarapion, greetings. I was overjoyed to receive your letter. Our friend Callinicus was testifying to the utmost about the way of life you follow even under such conditions—especially in your not abandoning your austerities. Yes, we may deservedly congratulate ourselves, not because we do these things, but because we are not diverted from them by ourselves. Courage! carry through what remains like a man! Let not wealth distract you, nor beauty, nor anything else of the same kind: for there is no good in them, if virtue does not join her presence, no, they are vanishing and worthless. Under divine protection, I expect you in Antinoopolis. Send Soteris the puppy, since she now spends her time by herself in the country. Good health to you and yours! Good health!'

(*Back*) 'To Sarapion the philosopher from his friend Aquila.'

1 Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι: I have not identified either of the friends, or Callinicus (line 5). Sarapion was a philosopher (26): a profession whose membership was encouraged, at least in the second century, by exemption from *munera civilia* (*Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 8, Hadrian). See the list by Calderini, *Studi . . . U. E. Paoli* 153–5.

9 ἀσκήσεως: for the various shades of meaning, see Pfister in *Festgabe f. A. Deissmann* 76–81. Philosophical doctrine on the subject is summarized by Bernhard Lohse, *Askese u. Mönchtum* (1969) 52 ff.

12 ἀλλὰ ὅτι μή: classical usage requires οὐκ, but μή is common in post-classical writers: see for example Schmid, *Atticismus* i 245 on Lucian.

19 φροῦδα: a choice word, familiar in Lucian, Aristides, etc., not in the papyri or the NT. Moeris 211. 26 Bekker commends it: φροῦδος Ἀττικοί, ἄφαντος ἀφανὴς Ἕλληνες.

23 αὐτή may refer to Soteris; or to a third party, 'the lady of the house' (**3060** 12 etc.).

3070. INDECENT PROPOSAL

39 3B.78/D (1–2) b   10·1 × 10·3 cm.

This curious piece is in fact a letter; it has been folded, and addressed on the back. But the main text, though it ends with the usual greeting, takes the form of a proclamation. This gives a mock-portentous note to the rather primitive proposition, shakily written and shakily spelt, which Apion and Epimas here offer to Epaphroditus. An equally primitive drawing in the right margin clarifies (without real necessity) their intentions.

The drawing has a label: ψωλὴ καὶ φίκις. φίκις has so far led a ghostly existence in the grammarians. Herodian i 88. 35 Lentz: disyllables in -κις are oxytone, τὸ δὲ φίκις βαρύνεται;[1] *Suda* iv 719. 24 Adler φικιδίζειν· ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν (cf. 782. 24). The word can now be seen to have been current in the early Roman period. The genitive must be φίκιδος; whence φικιδίζειν in the same sense as πυγίζειν.

→   λέγει   Ἀπίων
     καὶ Ἐπιμᾶς Ἐπαφροδ(ίτῳ)   ψωλὴ
     τῶι φιλτάτωι ὅτι
     ἡ διδῦς ἡμεῖν τὸ   *drawing*
5   πυγίσαι καὶ καλῶς   καὶ φίκις

[1] Lentz emended to Κίκις, a proper name (allegedly of Alcaeus' brother) which Herodian cites elsewhere as paroxytone (ii 641. 3). For this reason φίκις appears in Stephanus, but not in LSJ or its supplement.

coí ἐcτι, οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ
δείρομέν ce ἐὰν δώcῃc
ἡμεῖν τὸ ποιγίcαι. ἔρρω(co).
ἔρρω(co).

10   (*Back* →) ἀπόδ(οc) ’Επαφροδ(ίτῳ) τῷ φιλτάτῳ.

2 επαφρο^δ 4 l. εἰ διδοῖc   8 l. πυγίcαι   ερρ^ω 9 ερρ^ω 10 απο^δ επαφρ^δ

2 ’Επιμᾶc, if correctly read, must be the hypocoristic of ’Επίμαχος.
7 δείρομεν: 'thrash', as in the schoolmasters' motto φιλοπόνει, ὦ παῖ, μὴ δαρῇc (see Schubart, *Das Buch* (3rd edn., Leipzig 1961) 41).
8 ἔρρω(cό): faint and dirty; perhaps the writer tried to delete it, in favour of the more elegant placing in the next line.

VI. MINOR DOCUMENTS

3071. 16 2B.45/C (1–2)a. 6·7 × 23·4 cm. Reign of Decius. These line-ends come from an edict of the Prefect of Egypt, issued in the sole reign of Decius and here copied in a good cursive with touches of chancery style. The left side of the sheet is lost, and with it more than half of each line of writing (see 1 note). The back has been reused for a column of scrappy accounts, ending with a total in talents and drachmas.

The content of the edict is obscured by the damage. It has to do with Antinoites, and the avoidance and fulfilment of obligations. It results from a petition addressed to the prefect by a woman or (more probably) a city or its *boule*. The prefect rules that the defaulters must carry out their obligations, fixes a time limit of thirty days, and prescribes penalties for disobedience. It does not emerge what kind of obligation is in question: perhaps one connected with the performance and evasion of city offices (5, 8, 9, 17). Antinoite freedom from liturgies often gave rise to disputes (*Actes X Congr. Int. Pap., Varsovie*, 73 ff.), and may have some relevance here. SB 7696 illustrates the kind of case which might inspire such an edict at this date.

→ ¹ ἔ]παρχο[ς Αἰγύ]πτου λέγει· ²].εν μοι δικ[ά]ζ[ο]ντι δια ³] ὑπαρχούσας (ὑπ-) αὐτῇ πε-
⁴]. προϊσχομένη (-ϊσχ-) και ⁵]οις ἀποδιδράσκουσι τὰς ⁶ ἀπρ]οφασίστως προαγορευ-
⁷]. Ἀντινοέων πολιτει- ⁸] μεθίστανται τασαρ- ⁹].να...ς καὶ πληρουν ¹⁰] καθηκούσας ἢ εἴ
τινι ¹¹] εἴσω λ ἡμερῶν κα- ¹²]ων ὑπομνημάτων ¹³].ς μὴ πισθεῖεν ταύτῃ ¹⁴].ειν ὀφείλοντες
τας ¹⁵]. πολιτεία αὐτοῖς ετι ¹⁶].τα απιθ.[.]τοις προ- ¹⁷].ματα εισασαναιρε ¹⁸].σεται
προ[......]. ¹⁹ Τ]ραιανοῦ (-αϊ-) Δεκίου ²⁰] *vac.*

1 The only certainly attested prefect of the reign of Decius is Aurelius Appius Sabinus. If we restore his name here, and the normal titulature in 19, we have lines of about equal length: 1 Αὐρήλιος Ἄππιος Cαβεῖνος ὁ διασημότατος ἔ]παρχο[ς; 19 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Μεσσίου Κυίντου Τ]ραιανοῦ. Correspondingly the lacuna in the other lines will be of *c.* 40 letters. But note that the last date for Appius Sabinus (17. 7. 250) leaves room for a successor within the sole reign of Decius.

2 Probably ἐνέτυ]χεν. For the phrase cf. **3017** 5 note.

8 τασαρ: e.g. τὰς ἀρ|[χάς.

16].τα απιθ.[.]: some part of ἀπειθεῖν suggests itself; but the trace after θ is most like α (not ε or η, hardly ω).

17 e.g. εἰς ἃς ἂν αἱρε|[θῶσιν.

18 πρό[θες?

20 The preserved papyrus is blank. It follows that Herennius and Hostilianus were not named. The edict therefore belongs before Dec. 250 (*Aeg.* 32 [1952] 155 f.).

3072. 22 3B.19/E (1–2)b. 7·8 × 8·9 cm. *c.* A.D. 197/200. This scrap comes from the top of a column; on the back, remains of a column of accounts, including two payments to nyktophylakes. The writing is a sober and informal chancery hand.

Content and lay-out suggest comparison with W. *Chr.* 41: *commentarii* of some official, probably the strategus. Cf. **3073** and **3074**; and PSI XIV 1444 (revised by Rea, *CdÉ* 47 (1972) 236). The space between lines 3 and 4 will mark a new section, i.e. a new day. The day's record begins with some function of the imperial cult: offerings, it seems, for Septimius Severus and his prefect Aemilius Saturninus.

→   ¹]ειϲφερω[. . . .]. . . .κατα[²]χιερ. . . . .[.]ν ὡϲ πρόκειται [³]ϲεν εἰϲ τὸ θέατρον κἀκεῖ τω[⁴] (*vac.*) [⁵] ἔθυϲεν ἔν τε τῷ ϲεβαϲτείῳ [⁶]αι εὐφημιω[⁷]. Περτιναϙ[⁸].οϲ Αἰμιλιο.[⁹]τωνα[

2 ἀρ]χιεροϲύν[η]ν would fit the traces well (-ρω- cannot be read).
3 E.g. ἐκάθι]ϲεν.
5 W. *Chr.* 41 ii 9–11 ἔθυϲ]εν ἔν τε τῷ Καιϲαρείῳ κα[ὶ ἐν τῷ γυ]μναϲίῳ. For the Augusteum see **2553** 12 and note.
6 PSI XII 1265. 12 (A.D. 426 or 441) εὐφη[μ]ίαιϲ καὶ ἱερομηνίαιϲ ταῖϲ γιγνομέναιϲ ὑπὲρ νείκηϲ καὶ διαμονῆϲ τῶν δεϲποτῶν τῆϲ οἰκουμένηϲ. Unspecified acclamations before a meeting of the Oxyrhynchite senate (A.D. 370), **2110** 2.
7–8 Mutually dependent restorations: 7 Λουκίου Ϲεπτιμίου Ϲεουήρο]υ Περτίνακ[οϲ, 8 τοῦ διαϲη-μοτάτου ἡγεμό]νοϲ Αἰμιλίου [Ϲατορνίνου (prefect *c.* 197–200).

3073. 42 5B.75/G (2–4)c. 5 × 18·5 cm. Third century. Line-beginnings, in a good chancery hand, from the day-book of a strategus; the back is blank. Each day has a separate section, marked off from the next by a very extended paragraphus; the numeral which begins each section projects one letter into the margin. 6 ff. refer to the imperial cult.

→   ¹ φεν[² προϲ.[³ ωϲμ[⁴ ριϲτα[⁵ ροιϲ[⁶ κη ἱερᾶϲ (ϊ-) [οὔϲηϲ ⁷ αυτο.[⁸ τωντ[⁹ Αὐρηλι[¹⁰ καὶ ϊου[¹¹ καιτ[¹² καιτ[¹³ ανου.[¹⁴ δειλην.[¹⁵ κθ ὁ ϲτρατ[ηγὸϲ ¹⁶ βαϲιλικ[¹⁷ δρειαν[¹⁸ ..].α....[

6 ἱερᾶϲ: or ἱερᾶϲ [καὶ ϲεβαϲτῆϲ, as in PSI 1444. 5.
7 αὐτοκ[ρατορ- could be read. 9 ff. could be restored from W. *Chr.* 41 iii 8 ff.: Αὐρηλί[ου Ϲεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐϲεβοῦϲ εὐτυχοῦϲ ϲεβαϲτοῦ] καὶ Ἰου[λίαϲ Μαμαίαϲ τῆϲ κυρίαϲ ἡμῶν ϲεβαϲτῆϲ μητέροϲ Ϲεβαϲτοῦ] καὶ τ[ῶν ἱερῶν ϲτρατοπέδων ± 20] καὶ τ[οῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνοϲ (Τίτου) Μηονίου Ὀνωρατι]ανοῦ (or the same imperial titulature in the accusative). But Caracalla and Julia Domna (and the prefect Basilianus or Julianus) might suit equally well; or Aurelian and Vaballathus (and Statilius Ammianus). There seems to be no room for the pretorian prefects (W. *Chr.* 41 iii 13, PSI 1444. 7 f.).
14 περὶ]] δείλην, cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iv 13.
15 ff. The strategus and his *basilikos grammateus* left for Alexandria?

3074. 18 2B.73/J (c). 10·3 × 16 cm. Third century. Another fragment (with upper margin) from the day-book of a strategus, cf. **3072** and **3073**. A substantial portion is lost to the right, as can be seen in line 2. The hand is of chancery type. Most of the piece is taken up with a report of proceedings: the strategus investigates on the spot the disappearance of some shepherds and the wounding or death of one of them. On the back, remains of five lines in cursive.

→ 1 ‾ .. ὁ cτρ]ατηγὸc πρὸc τῷ λογιcτηρίῳ δημο...[2 ‾ .. ὁ cτρ]ατηγὸc τὴν ἀγορὰν
περιελθὼν πρὸc τῷ λ[ογιcτηρίῳ 3]..τωτοc ποιμένων τοπαρχίαc αραβ[4 κ]ατανέμονταc
ἀφανεῖc εἶναι (m.²) 'ὁ cτρ..[' (m.¹) αμ....[5]κι βαcιλικῷ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖc ϵπιτϵτ[
6]υc καὶ γενόμενοc εἰc τὸ ἄνω πεδίο[ν 7]αρμωτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ διερμην[8]κηθηναι
ὁ cτρατηγὸc εἶπ(εν)· πόθεν νο...[9].αc ὑπονοεῖc. ἀπεκρείνατο ο.[10 ο]ὐκ' ἔ[[ι]]cχεν τοῦ
ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν. ὁ cτρατη[γὸc 11 ἀπεκρ]είνατο· οὔ· ὡc κεῖται αὐτὸν εὗρον με.[12].. αὐτοῦ
ἀπελείφθηc. ἀπεκρείνατο· ϵ[13]ην cυντετριμμένην καὶ τὸν ὦμον [14]τινα...φ.....ιν
[....]........[*remains of one more line.*

1 and 2 will have begun with the day of the month. The initial lacuna was therefore not large (and the beginning of line 11 will be complete as restored).

1 δημοcίοιc (cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iii 37 etc.) cannot be read. Perhaps δημον..[or Δημον..[.

2 τὴν ἀγοράν: cf. W. *Chr.* 41 iii 31, iv 7. The end might be restored e.g. πρὸc τῷ λ[ογιcτηρίῳ τοῖc διαφέρουcιν ἐcχόλαcεν (W. *Chr.* 41 iv 8 etc.).

3 Perhaps προ]εcτῶτοc. Ἀραβ[ίαc would designate a toparchy on the east bank of the Nile, as in the Panopolite (PBeattyPanop. 1. 328) and many other nomes. Cf. on 7.

4 The corrector added ὁ cτρατηγὸc εἶπεν; the traces do not show whether cτρατηγόc was written in full or in abbreviation.

7 Ἀραβικοῦ might be the village in the Aphroditopolite, mentioned in **1746** 7; the nome-capital was ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ (Strabo 17. 1. 35), which suits line 3. At the end, probably δι' ἑρμην[έωc: parallels in Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 170.

8 Probably ἀδι]κηθῆναι. The sense may be 'mutilated', to judge from 13.

11–12 Apparently the witness answers 'No! He (the body) was lying like this when I found him ...'; the strategus asks '[Well, in what condition was he when] you left him?'

13 Perhaps τὴν κεφαλ]ήν.

3075. 19 2B.74/B (c). 5·5 × 7·5 cm. Third century. Formulary for the opening of a will. This text is written along the fibres, on the back of a register or list of persons. The register mentions a βουλευτήc; this, and the hand, suggest that **3075** belongs to the third century.

Witnesses to a will would attend its opening and formally recognize their seals. The words on this slip of papyrus constitute an outline subscription, in which the witness could attest his participation; the form is quite general, with τίc τινοc in place of a definite subject, as in other model formularies like SB 9226 and **2677**. I have not found an exact parallel to the phrasing in extant wills: **494** 32 ff. (a Greek will) has a similar

subscription in different words; presence of witnesses and recognition of seals are combined in BGU 1655. 60 ff. and **2348** ii 51 ff. (both Roman wills).

→   1   ....].. τίc τινοc παρή´²[μην τῆc] διαθήκηc ἀν[ο]ι³[γομέν]ηc καὶ ἐπέγνων ⁴ [.....]. cφραγεῖδα ⁵ [.....].

'...I, X son of X, was present at the opening of the will and recognized (my?) seal.'

1   ....].. : Αὐρήλι]οc would suit the traces; but it is really too long, unless the line projected into the left margin. Did the first word designate the documentary type, as in SB 9226? Alternatively, the whole thing could be a name ....]...ιcῖνοc; but I can find none which fits.

1–2 παρή´[μην: the spacing requires the long form, cf. the certain supplement in 3.

3 ἐπέγνωρ: the ρ is doubtful; it does not account for a low point of ink below the first upright. But ἐπέγνω and ἐπέγνωι leave further ink unaccounted for.

4 The trace before cφραγεῖδα looks most like η with cross-bar projecting; not e.g. ν, unless it had an unexpected linking-stroke. ὑγι]ῆ might be relevant, see BGU 1655. 62; but I don't see how to fit it in. The final trace in 5, a high horizontal stroke, has the appearance of a paragraphus (rather than an extended final letter): so that the sense should be complete with cφραγεῖδα.

3076.   27 3B.43/F (3–4) b.   8·8 × 10 cm.   *c*. A.D. 225. Plate XI. This scrap, from the top right-hand corner of a document, cites a petition to Ti. Clau. Herennianus, who assumed the prefecture on direct orders from Rome when the removal of Epagathus left it vacant (**2705** 12 etc.). The writing is of some interest: a good round hand with occasional serifs; beta with extended base-line, kappa with the upper oblique flattened. I should have assigned it to the mid second century, but for the content; cf. Roberts *GLH* 11b, an early dated example. The back is blank, except for one trace of ink.

→   1 (m.²)]υ   2 (m.¹)].ων ὑπατικοῦ Cυρίαc ³].ον βιβλείδιον ... ⁴ δικαιοδ]ότῃ διέποντι [κ]αὶ ⁵].[....]ο....[⁶].. παρὰ 'Ιουλίου Ἀμ- ⁷].ω τῷ κρατίcτῳ δικαιοδότῃ ⁸ οὕ]τωc ἔχι // Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ ⁹ ['Ερεννιανῷ τῷ κρατίcτῳ δικαιοδότῃ διέποντι καὶ τὰ] μέρη τῆc ἡγεμονίαc ἐκ θείαc ¹⁰ [κελεύcεωc παρὰ *c*. 30] τῶν ἐντείμωc ἀπολυθέντων ¹¹ [*c*. 42]ειδη. [.]εωcτων μοι ἡγεμών ¹² [*c*. 42].κυλ.[.].μα ἄλλῳ κατὰ χειρογρα *traces of one more line before the break.*

2].ων: the trace is an oblique foot, e.g. ν. ὑπατικοῦ (read by Turner) seems unavoidable (τ has been corrected from π). This *consularis Syriae* is not named; probably the words form part of a longer phrase, which describes one of the military men involved in the case (cf. 10); compare e.g. *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie* ii 448. 5 f. (A.D. 195) βοηθῷ κορνικουλαρίων ὑπατικοῦ.

3 ... : the first has a curved back. E.g. ἔτι][δοθέν.

11 Perhaps χ[ρ]εωcτῶν.

12 After].κυλ, ε or ο. E.g. Π]εκύλου ἅμα ἄλλῳ (Turner).

3077. A. [13] B4/4 (c) 1. 5×9·5 cm. A.D. 231/2. This census return, which mentions the *dux* M. Aurelius Zeno Januarius, was first printed and discussed in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (1970) 397. The text is reprinted here with minor amendments. Another document was originally glued on to the left; on the back, an account or register.

→ ¹ π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλίων Ματρεο[c. 19] ² ου μητ(ρὸc) Διεῦτοc καὶ . [c. 19] ³ ἀμφοτ(έρων) ἀπ᾽ Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλεωc· κ̣[ατὰ τὰ κελευcθέντα ὑπὸ] ⁴ Αὐρηλίου Ζήνωνοc Ἰα[νου- αρίου (ϊα-) τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου)] ⁵ cτρατηλάτου καὶ Κλαυ[δίου Μαcκουλείνου] ⁶ τοῦ λαμπρότατα ἡγεμ[ονεύcαντοc ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) πρὸc] ⁷ τὴν τοῦ διελθ(όντοc) θ (ἔτουc) Μάρ[κου Αὐρηλίου Cεουήρου] ⁸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καίcαροc τ[οῦ κυρίου κατ᾽ οἰκίαν] ⁹ ἀπογρ(αφὴν) τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμε̣[ῖν c. 17] ¹⁰ νικ.[....]c̣μερ[.]...[c. 19] ¹¹ η.[.......]. ιουθεω.[c. 19] ¹² c[........].ατρεου[c. 19] ¹³ ν.[........]...[*traces of one more line before the break*.

'From the Aurelii Matres (?) ..., mother Dieus, and ..., both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders of Aur. Zeno Januarius the most illustrious *dux* and Claudius Masculinus the most illustrious former prefect, we register for the house-to-house registration of the past 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord the ... which belongs to us ...'

9–10 Perhaps ἐπ᾽ ἀμφόδου Ποιμε]|νικῆ[c ...]c μέρ[ο]c ἥμ[ιcυ; but I can think of nothing to go before μέροc;]c is very likely; not]ν. Ποιμε]|νικ(ῆc) .[....]c is also possible.
11 E.g. (πρότερον) Αὐρη]λίου Θέων[οc.
12] Ματρεου[.

3078. 19 2B.76/A (a). 10·2 × 7·1 cm. Second century. Oracle-question. This is a text of familiar type: see most recently R. A. Coles, *JEA* 53 (1967) 121. There are three points of interest. Helios-Sarapis has the unusual epithet νικαφόροc, with Doric alpha. The subject is an eye-ailment: such maladies are so prevalent in Egypt, that Hermes himself produced a manual of treatment (Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* 173). The text itself is abnormally clear and literate, and the basic structure certain: τοῦτό μοι δόc forms the apodosis of the conditional, and means 'return this slip to me.' (Similarly in **2613** the stop should come before εἰ μέλλω.) See Coles, op. cit. 122. The back is blank.

↓ ¹ Διὶ (διῒ) Ἡλίωι Cαράπιδι Νικαφόρωι· εἰ ἐ²πιτρέπειc μοι χρήcαcθαι Ἑρμείνωι [Ἑ]ρ³μοπολίτηι ἰατρῶι (ϊα-) πρὸc θεραπείαν ⁴ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦτό μοι cυμφέρει, ⁵ τοῦτό μοι δόc. ⁶ ...[]διειλαμ....[..].

1 νικαφόρωι: epithet of many deities, but not so far of Sarapis: see Pauly–Wissowa s.v. Nikephoros.

(1). The Doric form occurs again in Alexander's letter to the Amazons, Ps.-Call. p. 126. 9 Kroll. Is it a learned touch, like the adscript iotas?

    6 This line is indented *c.* 6 letters. καὶ (but not ναί) διειλάμην ..[(or κατ[α]διειλάμην ..[) would be acceptable readings. The space is short for ζαρ[άπι]δι.

3079. 22 3B.21/N (3–4)a. 15 × 26·5 cm. Fourth century. A list of ships, with their owners, captains, and cargoes (or capacities): cf. **2415.** The transcript begins with the first complete entry; there are traces of at least three lines above. On the back, remains of two columns of accounts in denarii.

→ ¹ πλοῖον Λι.........[.........]..... ² (*vac.*) [......]..[.]. ³ πλοῖον Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀμμ[..... ὑ]πὸ Ἀπφοῦν ⁴ κυβερνήτην [(ἀρτ.)].ψμζ ⁵ πλοῖον Λευκαδίου ὑπὸ Cάλβι[ο]ν κυβερ(νήτην) (ἀρτ.) Γϛιβ ⁶ πλοῖον Cαραπίωνος cπεκουλ(άτορος) ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειον ⁷ κυβερνήτην (ἀρτ.) τιη ⁸ πλοῖον Εὐλογίου Ματρίνου ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦν ⁹ κυβερνήτ[ου]ην (ἀρτ.) ωλ

    5 κυβερ   6 cπεκουλ′

    'Boat of L.... (3) Boat of Julianus (son of Ammonius?), under Aphous as captain, ( ),747 (artabas). Boat of Leucadius, under Salvius as captain, 3,212 art. Boat of Sarapion the *specula'or*, under Heraclius as captain, 318 art. Boat of Eulogius son of Matrinus, under Aphous as captain, 830 art.'

    1 The last letter is apparently ρ with an abbreviation stroke. Probably κ]υβερ(νήτην): line 2, where we expect the word, is blank except for a figure at the end.

3080. 27 3B.43/E (1–3)a. 10·5 × 12·3 cm. Second century. An 'order' for various household utensils and supplies. The back is blank.

→ ¹ ἐντολὴ Πετεῦριος πρὸς Πλου²τίωνα φίλον. ³ λα[.].κηνον τέλειον α ⁴ ἐλαίου ξενικοῦ χοῦν [ ] ⁵ πορφύρας παρατύπου cτατ(ῆρες) ι ⁶ λαγύνιον ὑελοῦν cὺν θήκῃ ⁷ νεώτερον ⁸ cφθαιρολη κύθου κρ.[.].οι β

    'Instruction of Peteuris to his friend Plution. Laodicean garment (?), in perfect condition, 1, Foreign oil, a chous. False purple, 10 staters. Glass flagon with case, fairly new. 2 rings (?) for the globe oil-flask (?).'

    3 λα[.].κηνον: κη (rather than και or μι) seems the best reading of the cursive group; before that the foot of a descender. λα[δ]ικηνόν would fit (λα[υ- probably too long), but its credentials are dubious, see LSJ Suppl. s.v. λαυδικη(νόν?).
    5 παρατύπου: of false money, **1411** 12; of false measure, SB 9454 (2) 10. Possibly this is the imitation purple made from madder (PHolm. 26. 29 ff.); fabric so dyed is ψευδοπόρφυρον, **1051** 15.
    8 There might be room for a narrow letter between φ and θ. If the reading printed is right.

I suppose the theta must be intrusive; cφαιρολήκυθοc might be an oil-flask of the globular type (D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* 253).

κρ.[.].οι: after ρ the top of a high vertical. Possibly κρίκοι, though it is short for the space. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum* i 125 shows a globular flask which is attached to its bucket-handle by two bronze rings.

3081. 19 2B.75/K (4)a. 11 × 31·5 cm. Third century. A short account of jars, written on the back of **3050**.

↓   ¹ ......]ε̣χον κεραμίων ² .....ων ἀπο̣κ̣ε̣ιμένων ³ παρὰ Διογένην ρ̅λ̅γ̅ ⁴ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ᾱ ⁵ παρὰ Χαρμόcυνον β̅ ⁶ Ἐπεὶφ κ̅α̅ εἰc οἶκόν μου ᾱ ⁷ κ̅δ̅ εἰc οἶκόν μο̣υ ..... ⁸ ἀνακεκαλυμμένον ᾱ

'...Jars...in store with Diogenes, 133. The first day, 1. For Charmosynus, 2. Epeiph 21, for my house, 1. 24th, for my house...uncovered, 1.'

1]ε̣χον rather than ε̣]cχον.

5 *Χαρμόcυνον*: the name (one example in Pape–Benseler) seems more likely than a reference to the festival *Χαρμόcυνα*.

8 *ἀνακεκαλυμμένον*: an opened jar? Cf. **1297** 9. I don't see what the word would mean if it belonged to *οἶκον*.

3082. 5 1B.33/A (a). 9 × 11·4 cm. Third century. Agathus, occupied with embarking the *annona*, protects his mother by letter: this letter to Phanias, perhaps the village scribe; another to someone else, perhaps the village headman.

→   ¹ Ἄγαθος Φανίᾳ τῶι ² ἀδελφῷ πλεῖcτα χαίρειν. ³ καλῶc μὲν ἐποίηcαc ⁴ δηλώcαc μοι περὶ τῆc μητρόc, ⁵ κρεῖτ'τον δὲ ποιήcειc ἐπιcτὰc ⁶ ἔcτ' ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνο⁷χληθῇ· ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τού⁸του τῷ ἡγουμένῳ· καὶ αὐτὸc ⁹ δὲ ἀνελθεῖν βουλόμενοc ¹⁰ οὐ δεδύνημαι μόνοc [[γαρ]] ¹¹ ἐν τῇ ἐμβολῇ [[εἰμι]] ὤν. ¹² ἐρρῶcθαί cε εὔχομαι. *Back* → ¹³ Φανίᾳ ...γρ( ) π(αρὰ) Ἀγάθο̣υ ἀ̣δ̣ε̣λ̣(φοῦ).

'Agathus to Phanias his brother, very many greetings. You did well to let me know about Mother, and you will do better to stay by her until she stops being bothered. I've written to the headman about this. I should like to come up myself, but haven't been able to, having no one with me in the loading of the corn. I pray for your health.'

(*Back*) 'To Phanias...from Agathus his brother.'

8 *ἡγουμένῳ*: he might be a village official (PRyl. 196. 9–10 note), though I have not found him attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome; but equally he may head a professional group (*γερδίων* PGrenf. ii 43. 9), or work for an official (*τοῦ cτρατηγοῦ* **294** 19).

Back. The word after *Φανίᾳ* seems to end in -γρ( ); the first letter might be kappa; but κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) doesn't really fit the traces, nor does βαc γρ(.

3083. 22 3B.16/A (1–4) a.   13·5 × 9·2 cm.   Third century.   A business note, written on the back (across the fibres) of a piece cut from a roll of accounts.   There is no address.

↓   ¹ Αὐρήλιος Cαραπιακὸς Διοσκόρῳ τῷ ² τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. ³ ἴcθι ἡμᾶc μόναc ὀφείλονταc Καλπουρνίῳ ⁴ (ἀρτάβαc) λδ‾ καὶ τὰc λοιπὰc ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ⁵ ἐὰν οὖν ἐπείγητε (l. -ται) μετρηθήτωcαν αὐτῷ ⁶ αἱ (ἀρτ.) λδ· καὶ οὐκ ἐγένου εἰc τὸν βορρᾶ ἕνεκεν ⁷ τῶν φυλάκων οὔτε ἀφεῖκαc τὸν γέροντα ἐνέγκαι· ἐξαυ⁸τῆc οὖν ἢ πέμψον ἢ cὺ γενοῦ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἔνεγκον ⁹ αὐτούc. ἐρρῶcθαί cε εὔχο(μαι).

'Aurelius Sarapiacus to Dioscorus his most honoured friend, greetings. You must know that we owe Calpurnius only 34 artabas, and the remainder from my brother's. So if he is pressed, have the 34 art. measured out to him. You haven't been to the north about the guards, and you haven't let the old man go to bring (them). So either send him, or go there yourself and bring them, at once. I pray for your health.'

3084. 29 4B.44/G (2–3)a.   11 × 11 cm.   Second to third century.   A business-like note: 'The prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th.' The point may be an implied warning: the prefect is already near the borders of the Oxyrhynchite; the addressee Themistocles should make haste to put the affairs of his ἐπιτροπή in order before the inspection begins.

→   ¹ Ἡράκλειος Θεμιcτοκλεῖ τῶι ² τιμιωτάτωι χαίρειν. ³ ὁ κράτιcτος ἡγεμὼν λέγεται ἐν ⁴ τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολείτῃ γεγονέναι ⁵ τῇ κ̄δ̄ ἑcπέραc· ὅπερ ἵν' εἰδῇc, ⁶ κύριέ μου, γράφω cοι. ἐρρῶcθαί cε εὔχομ(αι) ⁷ κύριέ μου πανοικ(εὶ) εὐτυχοῦντ(α). *Back* → ⁸ Θεμιcτοκλεῖ ἐπιτρόπωι.

'Heraclius to Themistocles his most honoured friend, greetings. His Excellency the prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th at evening. I write to let you know this, my lord. I pray for your health, my lord, in good fortune with all your household.'
Back 'To Themistocles the procurator.'

    1 Θεμιcτοκλεῖ: not identifiable. The name is fairly common in the first century A.D. (**1661** 4–5 n.); thereafter only SB 9305 and **103** (a gymnasiarch and prytanis, A.D. 316).
    3 κράτιcτοc: the title suggests a date not much later than the second century (Stein, *Die Präfekten* 177 f.), though the hand would allow more latitude.

3085. 22 3B.15/C (6–9)b.   8·8 × 11 cm.   Third century.   Financial arrangements, and a threat to back them up, written across the fibres in a practised cursive. The back has traces of ink.

↓ ¹ Ἑρμείας Cαραπίωνι τῷ ² φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ³ ἀλόγως ἀποcτὰc οὐ καλῶc ⁴ ἐποίηcαc
ἔχων τὴν τι⁵μὴν τοῦ χοιριδίου ἐν ⁶ (δρ.) ξ· καλῶc οὖν ποιήcειc με⁷ταβαλόμενοc Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
⁸ τῷ διδόντι cοι τὴν ἐπι⁹cτολήν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰc ἴcαc (ἴ-) ¹⁰ ἤδη ἔcχον· μὴ τοίνυν ¹¹ ποιήcῃc
με cκυ . . . . . . ¹² ἀλόγωc, ἵνα (ἴ-) μηδὲ τὰ ἀν¹³αλώματα ἀπαιτήcω cε. ¹⁴ [ἔ]ρρωcο.

'Hermias to Sarapion his very dear friend, greetings. You ought not to have gone off unreasonably
with the price of the pig i.e. 60 dr. So kindly pay it over to Alexander, the man who brings you this
letter, from whom I've received the same sum. So don't involve me in unreasonable bother (?), otherwise
I may claim the expenses from you too. Good health.'

6 (δρ.) ξ: a substantial pig, to judge from the prices listed by Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 231 f.
11 Apparently not cκυλῆναι; cκύλλεcθαι might just be possible.

3086. 4 1B.61/K (a). 15·3 × 7·6 cm. Third/fourth century. A business note,
written across the fibres (and parallel with the greater dimension) of a slip of papyrus.
The hand is an elegant upright cursive of the third or early fourth century. There is
no address on the back, though folds parallel with the writing are clearly visible.

↓ ¹ Νεμεcιανὸc Κολλούθῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ² ὁ Cῦροc πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸ τάλαντον
εἴληφε καὶ Νεῖλοc ἔτι πάλαι ³ (ταλ.) α (δρ.) ψ, καὶ τὰc λοιπὰc δὲ αὐτῷ μετεβαλόμεθα·
μὴ οὖν ταραccέτω ⁴ πρὸc ἡμᾶc τοcούτῳ χρόνῳ ἀμέμπτωc ἡμῖν κοινωνοῦντα· ⁵ τὴν δὲ
λοιπάδα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ οὖcαν τοῖc λινούφοιc (-ὕφ-) τήρη[cο]ν ⁶ μηδὲν βλαπτόμενοc· ἐν
γὰρ τούτοιc αἱ cπουδαὶ τῶν ⁷ φίλων φαίνονται. (m.²?) ἐρρῶcθαί cε εὔχομαι.

'Nemesianus to Colluthus his very dear friend, greetings. Syrus had the talent a long time ago,
and Nilus the 1 tal. 700 dr. ages ago, and we paid over the remainder to him as well. So let him not
stir up against us a man who has been a perfect partner to us for such a long time (?). Keep the re-
mainder, which isn't large, for the linen-weavers; it will do you no harm. It's in these things that
the active benevolence of one's friends shows itself. (2nd hd.?) I pray for your health.'

3087. 23 3B.8/F (4–5)a. 10·5 × 22·5 cm. Third/fourth century. An ill-spelt
letter, written (both text and final greeting) by a practised hand; the back is blank.
Pataris believes himself to have rented a certain area; Ptolemaeus and Heraclius claim
it instead; Nunechium is to determine the facts.

→ ¹ κυρίᾳ Νουνειχίῳ Πατάρι(ν) ² χαίριν. ³ καθὼc cυνεχώρηcέν μ[ου]οι ⁴ Διόcκοροc ὁ
ταιλώνηc τὰ ὅρια ⁵ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνοc μέχρι τῆc κα⁶λαμείαc τῆc Βαccιάδοc ⁷ (δρ.)φ απ . θα
δε καὶ ἠργαcάμη(ν) ⁸ εἰc τὰ ἐμειcθωcάμην ⁹ καὶ οὐκ αἰπετράπην ὑπὸ Πτο¹⁰λαιμαίου
καὶ Ἡρακλ[ ]ε'ου, ¹¹ εἰ μὲν δέδωκαι ἐκ τῶν ἐμειc¹²θωcάμην 'Διόcκοροc' γράψον μοι

καὶ οὐ¹³κ ἐργάζομαι εἰc αὐτὰ τὰ ὅ¹⁴ρια, ἰ δὲ τὸ ὄρι̣ο̣ν τὸ τῆc Τα¹⁵κόνα αὐτοῖc δ̣έ̣δωκαι γράψο(ν) ¹⁶ μοι καὶ οὐκ αἰπιτρείπ[.]ω αυτο̣ ¹⁷ τοιc εἰc τὰ ἡμῶν ἔρχαιcται. ¹⁸ οἶδε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸc Διόcκοροc ¹⁹ ὅτι εἰδοὺ τριάκοντα ἔτη ²⁰ ἔχω τὰ ὅρια ταῦτα. ²¹ ἔρωcόν μοι πολλοῖc χρόνοιc.

4 l. τελ-   8 l. εἰc ἅ   9 l. ἐπετρ-   11 l. δέδωκε, ἐξ ὧν   14 ἵ   15 l. δέδωκε   γραψō
16 l. ἐπιτρέπω   17 l. ἔρχεcθαι   21 l. ἔρρωcο

'To my lady Nunechium, Pataris sends greetings. As Dioscorus the tax-farmer conceded me the area of Helicon as far as the reed-bed at Bassias for 500 dr., and I went off (?) and worked on what I had rented and was stopped by Ptolemaeus and Heraclius—if Dioscorus has given (them) part of what I rented, write to me and I won't work on that area; but if he has given them the area at Tacona, write to me and I'll stop them coming on to our property. Dioscorus himself too knows that it's now thirty years that I've had this area. Good health for many years.'

1 Νουνειχίῳ: Pape–Benseler cites solitary examples of Νουνεχία and Νουνέχιοc.
Πατάρι(ν): the scribe seems to have written the final ιν in full, and then overwritten it with ι: l. Πατάριc or -ρεῖc?
4–6 Helicon at least should be a place-name, like Tacona in 14 f. Neither Helicon nor Bassias is among the geographical names in *WB* iii or *WB Suppl.* iii.
6 Βαc̣c̣ιάδοc: not Βακχιάδοc.
7 (δρ.) φ: the figure is much overwritten, with traits of γ and α (?) as well.
απ.̣.θαδε: the trace suggests απαρθα: for ἀπῆλθα δέ?
16 Apparently αυτοῖ, i.e αὐτοῖ(c), with -τοιc repeated in 17 by mistake.

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Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Words completely restored, i.e. of which no portion is extant in the text, are not indexed; nor is the article.

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Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας Τραιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β′ ὕπατος ⟨τὸ β′⟩ (A.D. 98) **3022** 1-3.
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MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS

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SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

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SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

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ELAGABALUS *or* SEVERUS ALEXANDER

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ... Year 2 **3032** 8.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουῆρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος Year 9 **3077** 7.
?Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος] Αὐρήλιος [Σεουῆρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός (and Julia Mamaea) **3073** 9.

Philippi

Μάρκοι 'Ιούλιοι Φίλιπποι Καίcαρεc οἱ κύριοι Year 2 **3046** 11–13   Year 3 **3049 A** 9–10, **B** 12–13
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Γενναιότατοc καὶ 'Επιφανέcτατοc Καῖcαρ Cεβαcτοί Year 2 **3047** 40–2 Year 4 **3049 A** 20–3.
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Decius

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖcαρ Γάιοc Μέccιοc Κυίντοc] Τραιανὸc Δέκιοc   Year 1? **3071** 19.

Gallus and Volusianus

Αὐτοκράτορεc Καίcαρεc Γάιοc Οὐίβιοc Τρεβωνιανὸc Γάλλοc καὶ Γάιοc Οὐίβιοc Ἀφίνιοc Γάλλοc Οὐελδου-
μιανὸc Οὐολουcιανὸc Εὐcεβεῖc Εὐτυχεῖc Cεβαcτοί   Year 3 **3053** 1–4.

Valerian and Gallienus

Οὐαλεριανὸc καὶ Γαλλιηνὸc Cεβαcτοί   Year 3 **3035** 6.

Valerian (I *or* II?)

] Οὐαλεριανὸc ὁ πρεcβύτεροc [**3029** 6.

Gallienus?

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖcαρ Πούπλιοc Λικίννιοc(?) ⟨Γαλλιηνὸc⟩ Γερμανικὸc Μέγιcτοc Εὐcεβὴc Εὐτυχὴc
Cεβαcτόc Year 12(?) **3054** 1–2.

Diocletian

Διοκλῆc Year 1 **3055** 7.
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Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, Constantius and Galerius, Caesars

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Galerius and Maximinus

Year 20 = 8 **3043** 7.

Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius

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Constantine and Licinius

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνcταντῖνοc καὶ Λικίννιοc cεβαcτοί Year 8 = 6 **3044** 12.
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III. CONSULS

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